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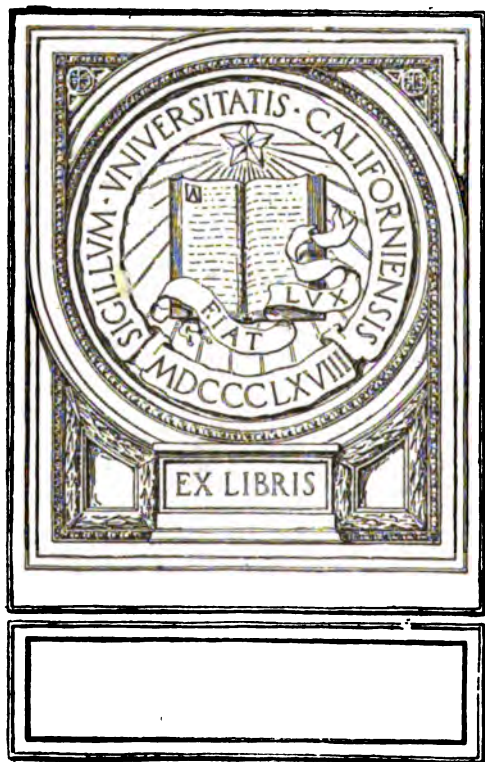
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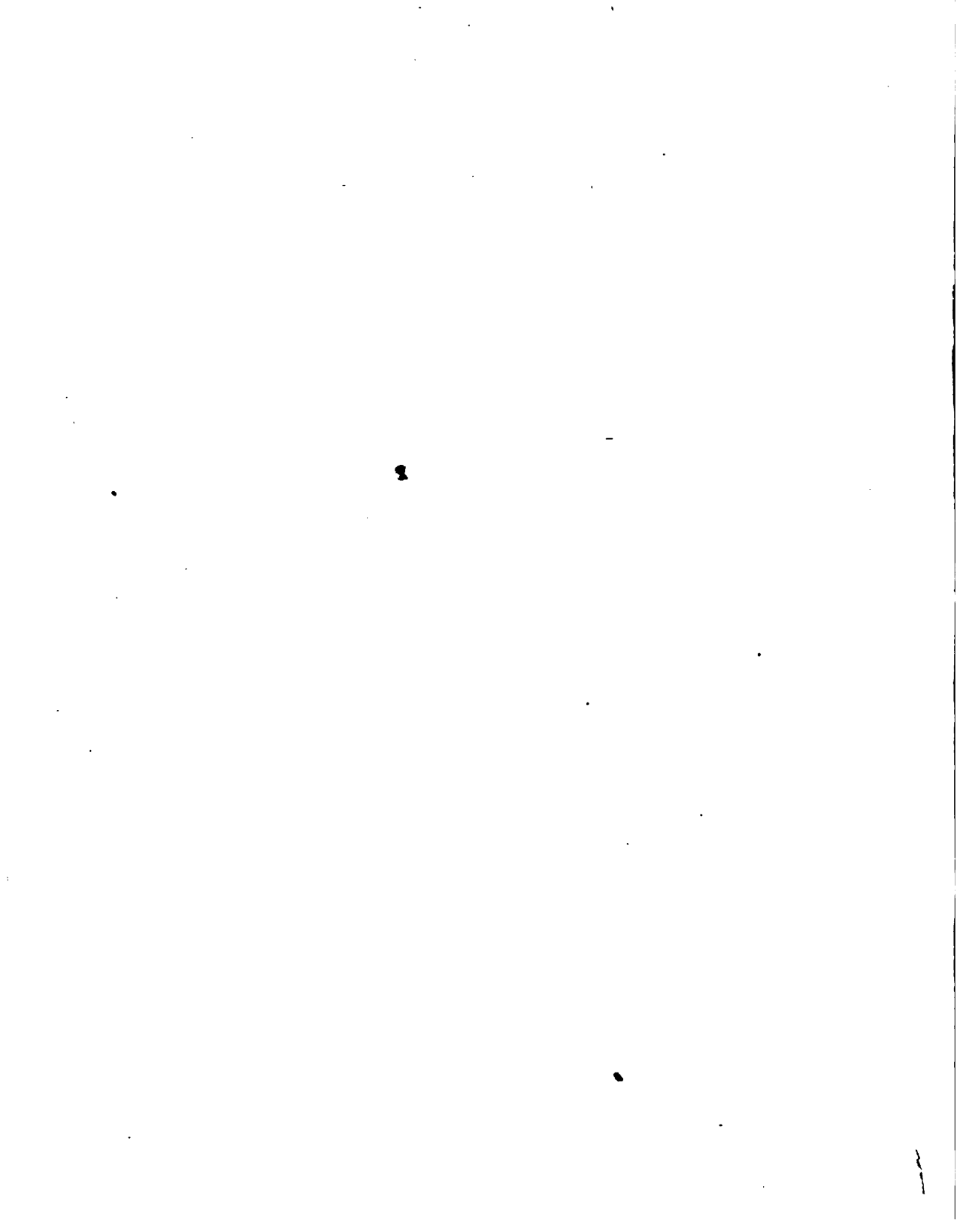


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1850-1.

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1854-5.

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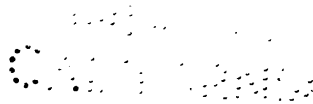
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VOL. XXXVI.



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THE
DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
DR. JOHN WORTHINGTON,

MASTER OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, ETC., ETC.

FROM THE BAKER MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND THE CAMBRIDGE
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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

ADDITIONS AND ERRATA.

- Page 1. *Add at the end of Note*—But the term *New disease* seems to have been applied to other epidemics also. The *Morbus Epidemicus* in 1643, which is described as *Febris, putrida, continua et contagiosa* (see pamphlet published 1643, by command), is likewise distinguished by writers as *The new disease*.
- „ 8. Note, third line from bottom. *For forgot, read forget.*
- „ 18. Note, sixth line. *Dele* note of interrogation.
- „ 81. Note, fifteenth line. *For maxime, read maximi.*
- „ 109. Note 2, first line. *For Miss Green, read Mrs. Everett Green.*

July 17. I preached at Feversham at the funeral of Mrs. Sharp.
Sept. 10. Damaris began to be sick of an ague or the new disease.¹

¹ The rickets is generally noticed at this period under the name of the *new disease*, no mention having been made of it in the bills of mortality until the year 1684.—See “Graunt’s Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality,” 4th edition, Oxford 1665, 12mo, p. 46.



DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

DR. WORTHINGTON.

Baker's Collect. Bibl. Harl.
Museum Brit. No. 7045.

1661.

June 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, July 14, 21, 28, Aug. 11, 18, Sept. 1, 8,
15, 22, 29, Oct. 6, 13, 20, Nov. 3, 5, 17, 24, Dec. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
I preached at Ditton.

July 7, Nov. 10. I preached at Milton.

July 17. I preached at Feversham at the funeral of Mrs. Sharp.

Sept. 10. Damaris began to be sick of an ague or the new dis-
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Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.¹

Sir,

I had both yours ; the latter of which was an answer to mine of August 24. The postscript did acquaint me with what I have long desired (and have heretofore written to you about) viz. the new edition of Eusebius by Valesius,² a very learned man, as may appear by his Notes upon Ammianus Marcellinus, published by him not long since. Hath he set forth all Eusebius his Ecclesiastical History, or that part only *De vitâ Constantini*? For he wrote to Bishop Usher about his assistance in that part of Eusebius.³ That of Lucas Dacherius, if it be a faithful collection and edition of MSS., is a most acceptable work.

If you consult your catalogue of books printed in Holland anno 1642, you may see by whom, and for whom, *Vita Davidis Georgii* was printed ; which may better direct to the procuring of it. It was put to the press ex Museo Ja. Revii, who was no friend to the fancies of David George.⁴

¹ I have printed this letter from a copy in MS. in my possession, which varies a little from the printed one, page 270 - 279 in Worthington's Miscellanies.

² For an account of Henry Valesius, or De Valois, see vol. i. p. 198, note. His edition of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History (not merely the life of Constantine) appeared Paris 1659, fol., and was followed by Socrates and Sozomen, Paris 1668, fol., and by Theodoret and Evagrius, Paris 1673, fol. Of his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, first published Paris 1636, 4to, a reimpression in folio came forth at Paris in 1681, under the care of his brother Adrien de Valois, with additional annotations. It is, though not the best critical edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, well worth possessing on account of the beauty of the typography and the valuable notes of the learned editor.

³ His letter to Usher, whom he addresses as "omnium Anglorum doctissime," is contained in that Prelate's correspondence, published by Parr, (p. 613, folio edition,) a collection which is exceeded in interest by none of those which have been formed from the letters of British or Continental scholars. It places us at once in the midst of whatever was transacting in the way of learned research in these islands during his time.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 168.

Mr. Wray¹ is not yet returned from the north ; I sent yesterday to enquire ; he is expected the next week.

I never saw that tract of Leo Modena's of the Temple,² in French, but in Dr. Cudworth's study ; and he told me it was Mr. Wall's. The author wrote also a tract in Italian, Of the Customs of the Jews.

Mr. Oldenburgh being at Leyden, I presume he might hear something of Josephus and of Hesychius, whether either of them be in the press ; both the books being so very considerable, would easily invite one upon the place to such an enquiry.

I long very much to see Buxtorf's new edition of the Hebrew Bible, and his *Critica Sacra*, which by the time they were first put into the press, one might hope to be finished and brought into the world. I was in hopes, when you first mentioned the New Testament being extant in Hebrew, that it signified more than a late production of one R[obertson].³ If it be he that went about teaching those that knew not Latin to construe Hebrew, I am not solicitous about enquiring any further after it. To perform this undertaking well, requires the best labours of one thoroughly acquainted with the Hebrew in the Old Testament, and in the Jewish Records ; of which several proofs are given by the late more accurate interpreters. Among the several translations of the New Testament published in two volumes by Elias Hutterus, there is an Hebrew translation. I was in hopes, that the *Evangelium Nazaræorum* (or *Evang. secundum Hebræos*) had been discovered ; out of which Ignatius, Justin M.[artyr,] Clemens Alex., S. Jerom, &c., quote some passages not extant in our Greek copies.

Your other letter gratifies me with the communication of an

¹ Mr. Wray, or Ray, by which latter name he is best known, the eminent naturalist, vol. i. p. 330. He set out on this journey July the 26th, 1661, from Cambridge, and returned the 30th August.

² Vol. i. p. 355.

³ See Robertson noticed vol. i. p. 365.

Angelical Vision,¹ as is supposed. He that wrote to you about it on August 9, it seems was not firmly persuaded of it, nor much solicitous about it; for then he would not have written in the end of the letter as he doth, viz. (Whether this matter of the vision be true or no, that the man hath seen, is not material to me). For the second letter of Aug. 16, it is more particular; yet not so particular but that many things would be enquired after before one may give a judgment upon the whole. Perhaps that relation of his message written with his own hand to a Lutheran may inform more particularly; or that writing which he intended to send to the Consistory of Amsterdam. That sins many and grievous reign in those parts is a most clear and sad truth, although one of the particular sins mentioned by the Old Man, viz. their persecuting one another for differences of religion (he had before spoken of the Reformed, the Lutherans, the Anabaptists, the Papists) is not so clear; there being a toleration of men of several persuasions in those parts. And that God's judgments will follow upon such sins (without repentance) is a clear and experienced truth. We see it in the punishments of the Jews by the Romans, and before by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans; as also of the whole world in the days of Noah: yet when Christ warned the Jews, he tells them of the time, viz. that within that generation (about 40 years, as Jonah gave warning of the destruction of Nineveh within 40 days) the sword, famine, &c. should destroy them, Matth. 24; and the prophet Jeremy doth particularize the time and persons that should destroy; and Noah, the preacher of righteousness, gives notice of the time, after 120 years; but the Old Man of Friesland is cautious; and doth not particularize the time, nor the nation that should come with the devouring sword against them. It hath been the ill hap of many heretofore, that have attempted to act the part of prophets, to see their prophecies prove false, by setting the

¹ Which was reported to have occurred to an old Frieslander (vol. i. p. 357, note). A letter from Hartlib, in which fuller particulars were given of the revelations of the (so called) angel, would seem to have been lost; but see his letter of the 24th September 1661.

time too short¹: others more cunningly have set the time further off, and so distant, that in all probability they would be off the stage before it was fulfilled. Yet I do not judge anything of deceit to be at the bottom of the old Frieslander's story, if he be a man of known integrity, and one in whose spirit there is no guile. But some well meaning men have through the strength of imagination and melancholy thought as great matters as this Old Man hath spoken of. Whether this be his particular case, except one had a very particular character of his temper, and of his course of life; and knew well that he is free from craft and design, as also from the being made a tool or instrument to serve the designs of others; I say, except there were a more explicit knowledge of these things, one cannot so well determine. I shall only add, what one suggested at the reading of this narrative, viz. "That the angel said, that the gospel was truly preached in those lands, &c. This (said he) is such a confirmation of their doctrine, as is not usual. There was a synod at Dort, which agreed upon such a doctrine. The Remonstrants and Lutherans thought that the synod's doctrine was not a doctrine according to godliness; and that the ancient Fathers and holy men in the primitive times had other thoughts of God, and will hardly be persuaded that an angel from heaven should give an attestation to the Dort-doctrine." This and another passage in the story made things seem more doubtful; which perhaps may better be understood, when a more particular relation shall be published. There is mention in the letter of one Mr. Rulice,² and another minister, Mr. Schotanus;³

¹ As was Drabicius's case (see vol. i. p. 358, note). A long and curious list might be given of prophets who have lived to see their prophecies falsified. A still larger one might be collected of apocalyptic interpreters, who, like Beverley, the author of the "Scripture Line of Time," and Hartlib's friend Sadler, the author of "Olbia," (vol. i. p. 252,) have found it necessary to be constantly fixing and refixing the periods of the millenium and second coming of Christ, from the provoking circumstance that the days originally named for their accomplishment in the lifetime of the writers had passed by without any extraordinary manifestation.

² A character of Rulice is given in Hartlib's letter of the — October 1661.

³ Christian Schotanus, born in 1603, and who died in 1671, the editor of the

of what persuasion are they? With the latter of these the Old Man, it seems, was well acquainted.

Thus you have a plain answer to that part of your letter; and as brief as I could. The like plainness I shall use as to your other enquiry: for I love not any tedious ambages, or sonorous expressions; which are certain arguments of a poor pedantry of spirit; they have indeed *λόγον σοφίας*, and may amuse the unskilful, but signify little to those who in understanding are men. Your enquiry is, what I think of Otto Faber's, or rather Van Helmont's notion, (that a good angel never appears barbatus; but if an angel appears with a beard, it is an evil angel, for such and such reasons mentioned.)¹ I was very desirous to know what they were: I have not the book here, but I sent to a physician (and a chymist) to send me an extract of that passage in Helmont, which amounts to this: (That Adam was *primus castitatis infractor virginisque stuprator*, and therefore as Cain the first homicide had a mark set upon him, so Adam had a mark set upon him, viz. a beard, that he might be like to that salacious creature the goat). Not to detract from Van Helmont in any deserved matter of praise for his chymical operations, yet I think that his *κριτήριον* in this particular (and as to some philosophical notions about the soul, to name no others) was very much enfeebled, and out of order. I forget not what Dr. More hath prudently observed concerning philosophical enthusiasm;² and it is easy to observe how that men (especially if

"Nomenclator" of Elias Levita, Franeker 1652, 8vo, and of the "Historia Sacra" of Sulpicius Severus, published also at Franeker in 1664. Schotanus held a respectable rank as a writer in philology and divinity.

¹ Vol. i. p. 360, note. We may smile, and it would be difficult to avoid doing so, to observe the simplicity and solemnity with which this excellent man discusses the question propounded, but Worthington's character for good sense and sound judgment will nevertheless not suffer with those who are sufficiently versed in the theology and philosophy of his time to know what importance even the greatest divines attached to similar questions.

² "This disease many of our chemists and several theosophists, in my judgment, seem very obnoxious to, who dictate their own conceits and fancies so magisterially and imperiously, as if they were indeed authentic messengers from God Almighty.

they would *altum sapere*, and seem somebodies in the world) may have very odd and extravagant conceits in some points, who yet in other things may be sober and useful and not injudicious. When he saith, "*Priorem deliquisse Adamum, Evam vero diutius restitisse et ab Adamo vi stupratam, et Adamus illecebrarum voces et dein minas locutus fuit:*" is not all this to dictate magisterially? (a thing very unpleasing to the ingenuous and free pursuers of rational knowledge), as well as when he saith afterwards, (That Adam, *antequam stuprasset Evam*, had a most sweet treble; but afterwards his voice brake, and became hoarse; and that's the reason why the voice changes *circa juventutem*.) Both Scripture and philosophy give us other accounts than Van Helmont doth in that section 34. The story is so clear in Genesis of God's giving Eve to Adam for a wife and meet help; of God's blessing them, "Be fruitful and multiply," &c. that I need say no more. And when men tell us confidently such particularities as are not in the sacred story, we are to ask them, Whence they have their doctrine, and who revealed to them such particular supplements to the holy text? But if they speak what is plainly cross to the unforced and easy meaning of the text, we are not to value it. There could therefore be no such reason for Adam's having a beard and Eve's having none. Philosophy doth easily give us an account, why men have beards rather than women.¹ What did Van Helmont think of some women, that when grown in years, and furthest from

But that they are but counterfeits, that is, enthusiasts, no infallible illuminated men, the gross popperies they let drop in their writings, will sufficiently demonstrate to all that are not smitten in some measure with the like lunacy with themselves." — More's "*Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*" in his *Philosophical Works*, edit. 1712, fol., p. 29.

¹ The very amusing chapter in Bulwer's "*Artificial Changeling*," 1653, 4to, pp. 193–216, on this subject, may be consulted by those who are desirous of ascertaining the opinions of learned writers, and amongst them J. C. Scaliger, Platerus, Hofman, Zonardus, and Ulmus in his treatise "*De fine Barbæ Humanæ*," with respect to this point. Bulwer is very vehement against the "beard haters," "a generation of scoffers of nature, who with their pincers fight against her, fit companions for the apostate Julian, who styled himself *Mysopogon*, as much as to say, the hater of a beard."

the salacious goatish qualities, have had Adam's mark, viz. a beard? And the voice then grows hoarse as they grow into years. You may remember that in Levit. 21, God forbade the Levites to shave off the corners of their beard:¹ and one would be prone to think that if to have a beard were to wear God's mark of Adam's uncleanness, he would rather have enjoined the Levites (who were in an especial manner near to God) to have shaved off not only part of, but all their beards; and therein, as in other things, to be separated from the people; nor should we have read of the high priest's beard, (as we do in Psal. 133) that a person so high and sacred as Aaron the high priest should wear so disgraceful a badge. To this might be added, that often in the Prophets, the cutting of the hair and shaving off the beard is represented as proper to mourning and humiliation, and is joined with putting on of sackcloth, &c. which supposeth the hair and beard to be ornaments (as well as their better apparel) and therefore fit to be laid aside in time of public calamities. But of this enough: not out of love to a long beard (which I desire not) nor out of a desire to contradict Van H.[elmont] but because you importune me to write about it, have I enlarged thus much. As for Van Helmont's inference, (That therefore no good angel ever appeared barbatus;) I do as little believe it, as that the good angels are like little plump-cheek'd boys, as the painter makes them. I will not trouble myself in turning over historical books about this matter; but for the present content myself with two stories that now come to my memory. The first is recorded by Melancthon (an holy and peaceable man)²

¹ On which Maimonides has an elaborate comment.

² The image of this "holy and peaceable man," as Worthington well calls him, rises from out the sea of controversy like one of those "birds of calm" which are said to have sat "brooding on the charmed wave." In the history of the earlier part of the sixteenth century the eye rests upon no portrait more delightful than that of the "*Ecclesiæ Reformatæ Corculum*," as Bishop Montagu, or "*Germaniæ summum decus*," as Gesner styles him. Transcendent as were his merits as a reformer, as a promoter of learning, as a cultivator of science, we almost forgot them all in the contemplation of the amenity, the purity and grace of his personal character. These seem to have acted as a spell, the influence of which still prevails, upon the minds of his

in his Commentaries upon Dan. 10, viz. How that Simon Grynæus¹ being at Spires in the year 1529, (where and when the Diet was then held) and having heard one in his sermon (his name was Faber) defend some doctrines which seem'd to him very erroneous, he discoursed with him in a mild way concerning those errors. The preacher being vexed hereat inwardly, designs mischief to Grynæus; which accordingly had succeeded, if not prevented by this extraordinary means; viz. — Grynæus and Melancthon being together in an inn, and at dinner, one comes to the inn, and desires to speak with Melancthon; who upon the notice arises from the table, meets with an old grave man, who told him of the mischief designed against Grynæus, and wished that he would forthwith hasten out of the inn and the city; which was accordingly done, and so Grynæus was preserved from that imminent danger.² Melancthon thought him that appeared to be an angel

countrymen, and to have installed the well-known "Dominus Philippus" amongst the household gods of Germany. It is somewhat honourable to England that the first collection of the detached portions of his correspondence was undertaken here and published at London in 1642, fol., along with the letters of Erasmus, More, and Ludovicus Vives. A good English life of him, for that by Cox (1815, 8vo.) has not supplied the desideratum, is yet wanting, with, what would of itself form a very attractive volume, a supplement of Melancthoniana, bringing together his thoughts, opinions, and criticisms from his correspondence and various works. It has been in part attempted, but so far I have seen nothing which is worthy of the name.

¹ Symon Grynæus, the intimate friend of Melancthon, was born at Veringen, in the county of Hohenzollern, in 1493, and after distinguishing himself as one of the most learned, zealous, and able of the scholars of that age, died at Basil of the plague in 1541. For a reference to the various writers who have noticed him, see "Saxii Onomasticon," vol. iii. p. 141. In 1581 he took a journey into England, his chief object being to visit the libraries in this country, from some of which, if Anthony Wood is to be believed, he carried off several Greek books, "because he saw the owners were careless of them." Anthony's accuracy has however been doubted, and certainly no learned foreigner who has visited this country ever bore a higher character, Erasmus, Gesner, and Melancthon being profuse in their praises of him.

² The following more circumstantial version of this story is given in that curious repository, Turner's "History of Remarkable Providences," (1697, fol.) p. 18. "When Melancthon, with others, was on a time at Spires, Faber preached, and spake many shameful things touching transubstantiation and the worshipping of consecrated

(though he loved not to be very positive and confident) for he thereupon takes notice of the goodness of God in sending his angels for our protection. And, if an angel, that he was *barbatus*, is very probable¹ from what Melancthon saith of him; he was *senex singularem gravitatem vultu oratione et vestitu præ se ferens*. The other story is of one Samuel Wallis² of Stamford;

bread, which when Gryneus had heard he came to him when his sermon was done, and said that forasmuch as he had heard his sermon concerning the sacrament he was desirous to speak with him privately about that matter, which when Faber heard he answered with courteous words and friendly countenance that this day was most of him desired, that he should speak with Gryneus, especially concerning such a matter, and bid him home to his house. The next day after Gryneus, suspecting nothing amiss, went his way; who returning to them said that to-morrow he should dispute with Faber: but in the meantime he, practising to entrap Gryneus, went to a nobleman and opened to him the whole matter, and at length he obtained what this nobleman commanded, that the burgomaster should cast Gryneus into prison. When they had scarcely begun dinner, there came an old man to the place where they dined and sent for Melancthon to come and speak with him at the door, asking him for Gryneus, whether he were within? to whom he made answer that he was: he said moreover that he was in *danger*, which if he would avoid he should fly forthwith, which when he told Gryneus and counselled him to flee, he did as he was wished. Melancthon, Dr. Cruciger, and he arose from the table, went out, their servants followed, and Gryneus went in the middle; they had not passed four or five hours but by and by the servants were where they lodged seeking for Gryneus, and not finding him there they left off searching. He asked many if they knew this man, being desirous to give him thanks for his good turn, but none could tell who he was or could see him afterwards. *I think verily this man was an angel*. When they had brought Gryneus to the Rhine he took a boat and passed over in safety."

¹ Rather a halting conclusion from the premises. Surely "*gravitas vultu*" does not imply a beard. For Melancthon's words see Op. (edit. 1602) part ii. p. 476.

² A more particular account of this case is afforded in Turner's "*History of Remarkable Providences*," p. 9, and in the appendix to Ennemoser's "*Story of Magic*," (Bohn, 1854, 12mo) vol. ii. p. 386; from the latter of which the following extract is made:—

"Samuel Wallace, of Stamford, in Lincolnshire, a very pious good man, a shoemaker by trade, having been thirteen years sick of a consumption, upon Whitsunday, after sermon, 1659, being alone in the house, and reading in a book called Abraham's '*Suit for Sodom*,' heard somebody knock at the door; upon which he arose, and went with his stick in one hand, and holding by the wall with the other, to see who was at the door, where he found a grave old man with hair as white as wool curled up, and a white broad beard, of a fresh complexion, little narrow band, coat and hose of a

who, having been in a sick and languishing condition for 18 years, was in the year 1658 wonderfully restored to health, by one that

purple colour, and new shoes tied with black ribbands, without spot of wet or dirt upon him, though it rained when he came in, and had done all that day, hands as white as snow, without gloves, who said to him, 'Friend, I pray thee give to an old pilgrim a cup of small beer.' Samuel Wallace answering, 'I pray you, Sir, come in;' he replied, 'Call me not Sir, for I am no Sir; but yet come in I must, for I cannot pass by the door before I come in.' Wallace, with the help of his stick, drew a little jug pot of small beer, which the pilgrim took, and drank a little, then walked two or three times to and fro, and drank again, and so a third time before he drank it all. And when he had so done, he walked three or four times as before; and then coming to Wallace, said, 'Friend, I perceive that thou art not well.' Wallace replied, 'No, truly, Sir, I have not been well these many years.' Then he asked what his disease was. Wallace answered, 'A deep consumption, as our doctors say, 'tis past cure.' To which the old pilgrim replied, 'They say well; but what have they given thee for it?' 'Truly, nothing,' said he, 'for I am very poor, and not able to follow the doctor's prescriptions: and so I have committed myself into the hands of Almighty God, to dispose of me as he pleaseth.' The old man answered, 'Thou sayest very well; but I will tell thee by the almighty power of God what thou shalt do; only observe my words, and remember them, and do it; but whatsoever thou dost, fear God, and serve him. To-morrow morning go into thy garden, and get there two red sage leaves, and one leaf of blood-wort, put these into a cup of small beer, let them lie there for the space of three days together; drink thereof as often as need requires, but let the leaves remain in the cup; and the fourth morning cast them away and put three fresh ones in the room: and thus do for twelve days together, neither more nor less. I pray thee remember what I say, and observe and do it: but above all, fear God, and serve him. And for the space of these twelve days thou must neither drink ale nor strong beer; yet afterwards thou mayest, to strengthen nature; and thou shalt see that before these twelve days are expired, through the great mercy and help of Almighty God, thy disease will be cured, and the frame of thy body altered,' &c. — with much more to this purpose: adding withal, 'that he must change the air, and then his blood would be as good as ever it was, only his joints would be weak as long as he lived: but above all,' said he, 'fear God, and serve him.'

"Wallace asked him to eat some bread and butter, or cheese: he answered, 'No, friend, I will not eat anything; the Lord Christ is sufficient for me; neither but very seldom do I drink any beer, but that which comes from the rock: and so, friend, the Lord God in heaven be with thee.'

"At parting, Samuel Wallace went to shut the door after him; to whom the old man, returning half way into the entry, again said, 'Friend, I pray remember what I have said, and do it: but above all, fear God, and serve him.'

"Wallace said he saw him pass along the street some half a score yards from his door, and so he went in. But nobody else saw this old man, though many people

knock'd at his door, and came into his house, and together with the holy counsel he gave him, directed him to make use of two red-sage leaves and one bloodwort leaf steeped in beer for three days, and for a whole month to be in the fresh air in some country town; and told him when he should recover, which fell out accordingly. The whole story I have transcribed from the man's own narrative written by him in a plain way. (And he is of good esteem for a plain upright man.) I am not certain but that it is in print. Several circumstances in the story make it probable, that he that came to him was a good angel; and if so, that he appear'd as a grave old man, very tall and strait, of a very fresh colour; his hair as white as wool, and his beard broad and very white, is expressly related by S.[amuel] W.[allis] in his narrative. But I have wearied you with too long a discourse upon this argument; which indeed hath encreased to this prolixity beyond my intentions when I began this letter to you. If you had not particularly desired my thoughts thereon, I should have passed by Van Helmont and Otto Faber, without the least disturbing them. You may see what Dr. More suggests in his 3^d book against Atheism, chap. 14, That angels have no settled form, but what they please to give themselves upon occasion.¹

were standing at their doors near Wallace's house. Within four days, upon the use of this drink, a scurf arose upon his body, and under that a new fresh skin; and in twelve days he was as strong as ever he had been, and healthful, excepting only a little weakness in his joints. And once in twelve days, by the importunity of some friends, drinking a little strong ale, he was struck speechless for twenty-four hours. Many ministers, hearing the report of this wonderful cure, met together at Stamford, and considering all the circumstances, and consulting about it, for many reasons concluded the cure to be done by the ministry of an angel. A particular good friend of mine, Mr. Lawrence Wise, minister of the gospel, deceased, had the whole relation from Wallace's own mouth; for going soon after this into Scotland, he took Stamford in his way, and went to Wallace's house, and discoursed an hour or two with him, and does not at all doubt that it was a good angel, that it was sent by the Father of spirits, that came to his house and wrought this cure upon him."

¹ Dr. More, on the question "Whether spirits have any settled form or shape," observes in his "Scholia" (Antidote in his Philosophical Writings, edit. 1712, p. 176): "For my own part, I do believe that angels have naturally both a plastic and human

I have now spoken to the several enquiries in both your letters. When Mr. Wray returns, I shall certify you what discoveries he hath made in his northern journey. I conclude with the assurance that I am

Yours affectionately,

Sept. 5, 1661.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Sir,

This is the third letter I am sending. The two former were dated Aug. 24 and 26, which was sent by the carrier. But I should not have troubled you with this had it not been for Mr. Beal, who desired the kindness of your answer to me concerning these matters; for he writes in his last of Aug. 31 in these words: "I may now tell you that I have already finished some specimina to prove that a fulness of Greek and Latin may be taught young men of ordinary capacities in two months, if I find them so far prepared as to read English well, and (at most) in some measure to have learned their English accidence. In which time I do also teach them the use of the globes, and some insight into geography, history, and the pleasanter parts of practical philosophy. To perform which I do begin with Lord Bacon's directions¹ in his letter to Sir H.

Baker's Camb
MSS. vol. vi.
or vol. xxix. as
numbered by
himself.

shape, and which I take from the vision of Ezekiel to have been the doctrine of the ancient Cabbala." I am tempted to make a further quotation from this great authority on the angelic hierarchies. "Ficinus, I remember, somewhere calls angels aerial stars, and the *good genii* seem to me to be as the benign eyes of God, running to and fro in the world, with love and pity beholding the innocent endeavours of harmless and single-hearted men, ever ready to do them good and help them." More is indebted for this, as Milton was after him, ("Paradise Lost," book iii. v. 650) not to Platonism, but to Scripture — Zachariah, iv. 10.

¹ This letter of Lord Bacon, with the accompanying discourse "touching helps for the intellectual powers in youth," is to be found in the various editions of his works. He lays down the principle that "the motions and faculties of the wit and memory

Savil,¹ now printed in his *Resuscitatio*. This argument I have

may be not only governed and guided, but also confirmed and enlarged by custom and exercise duly applied; as if a man exercise shooting, he shall not only shoot nearer the mark but also draw a stronger bow."

¹ The life of this illustrious scholar and patron of science, in whom the parish of Halifax, the place of his nativity, and Eton College, of which he was for twenty-five years Provost, may take just pride, has been given at length in the "Biographia Britannica," Chalmers's, and other collections, to which it is only necessary to refer the reader. His portrait still hangs in the Provost's house at Eton, and fully bears out what is said by Aubrey: "He was an extraordinary handsome man, no lady had a finer complexion." It is not therefore surprising that Queen Elizabeth, with her partiality to manly beauty, should select him to read "Greek and Politiques to her." The leading ambition of his life was to rival in scholarship Joseph Scaliger, to whom he was undoubtedly superior in accurate science, but was, as undeniably, the inferior in general erudition of that wonderful man, to whom every one of his contemporaries might without humiliation be content to veil the bonnet. In the Savilian Professors' Library at Oxford there was, and is probably still, a copy of Joseph Scaliger's "Mesolabium," his attempt at the quadrature of the circle, in which Sir Henry has frequently written in the margin, opposite to the *A.B., C.D., ex constructione* of the text, "*Et Dominatio vestra est Asinus ex constructione.*" In fastus and superciliousness, if the report of some who knew him be true, he fully equalled the memorable Goliath of Leyden. With the true feeling "of the hard-headed students of the North," he could not abide wits; when a young scholar was recommended to him for a good wit, *Out upon him, I'll have nothing to do with him; give me the plodding student. If I would look for wits I would go to Newgate, there be the wits*; and John Earl (afterwards Bishop of Sarum and the author of "Microcosmography") was the only scholar that ever he took as recommended for a wit. Like the unconquerable Master of Trinity he ruled his refractory fellows with an iron hand. Aubrey tells us: "He was not only a severe governor, but old Mr. Yates (who was fellow in his time) would make lamentable complaints of him to his dying day, that he did oppress the fellows grievously, and he was so great a favourite with the Queen that there was no dealing with him; his nœve was that he was too much inflated with his luxury and riches." For these "lamentable complaints" there might possibly be some reason, but the result of his long government, arbitrary as it might sometimes be, was undoubtedly to raise the character of the great foundations (Merton College, Oxford, and Eton College), over which he presided. Nothing that has ever been alleged against him can tarnish the lustre of the fame he acquired or diminish the grateful sense entertained by posterity for the publication of the "*Rerum Anglicanarum Scriptores*," for the elaborate and beautiful edition of "*Chrysostom*," which foreign countries looked upon with envy, and a scholar at the present day may contemplate with a feeling of national pride, and for the munificent foundation of the two professorships of astronomy and geometry at Oxford. With a full recollection of these benefits the traveller,

prosecuted, and it is my foundation.¹ In Greek (after a little practice

who, traversing the township of Stainland and passing by the site which one eminent living antiquary has fixed for the Roman station of Cambodunum, approaches the remains of Bradley, will look with some interest on the spot which witnessed the early days of one who, born in that

*Terra mala et sterilis, dumetis obaita saxis
Horrida,*

as it has been well described, "a younger brother without a foot of land," ended his days amidst the noble shades of Eton, himself the honoured centre of learning and science and destined to give them a lasting impulse through future generations.

¹ In Hartlib's next letter the details of Beale's plan of tuition are more fully stated. From the following interesting extract from one of his letters to Boyle (Boyle's works, folio edition, vol. v. p. 246), in which he gives an account of his own progress in learning, it would appear that he was considerably aided in his own studies by a system of artificial memory which he had devised at a very early life:—

"You require animadversions, supplements, and chiefly mnemonicals. I begin with the last.

"It is a very trifle, as if it were to make pins, and place them in rows, or wire cards for the clothiers; which, without the right art, is an ugly hard work; and the art itself is but a slight and contemptible device.

"If you shall please to examine what Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and Aquinas have written, with great wit and diligence recommending the art, and specifying all the parts of it, you will find it consist of as few and simple elements, as does the Turkish musick; two strings, or three at most; two notes, or three in all. '*Ordinem esse maximè, qui memoriæ lumen afferret,*' saith Cicero, from his own experience, and upon the authority of Simonides, '*Itaque iis, qui hanc partem ingenii exercerent, locos esse capiendos, et ea, quæ memoria tenere vellent, effingenda animo, atque in his locis collocanda; sic fore, ut ordinem rerum locorum ordo conservaret, res autem ipsas rerum effigies notaret, atque ut locis pro cæcis, simulachris pro literis uteremur.*' These few being all the parts, and these being so argutely illustrated by those four forenamed leading wits, so fully and most elaborately by Quintilian, there remains nothing for any sober man to undertake; only the practice is our part and duty; and that is indeed the sum total.

"And truly, in my childhood, I found, that all the art was a kind of clock-work, or wheel-engine, as Aristotle describes it: the joining of spring wheels, and other parts of the watch, in such coherence, that, by the touch of any part, the whole and every part may be put in motion, and yet all in order.

"And by reading Ovid's '*Metamorphoses*' and such slight romances, as the '*Destruction of Troy*,' and other discourses and histories, which were then obvious, I had learned a promptness of knitting all my reading and studies on an everlasting string. The same practice I continued upon theologues, logicians, and such philosophers, as those times yielded. For some years before I came to Eton, I did (in secret

of their memories upon nouns and verbs applied to the gnomas collected amongst the small poets) I make it less than a week's work to perfect them from Greek to Latin and from Latin to Greek in the

corners, concealed from others' eyes) read Melancthon's 'Logicks,' Magirus's 'Physica,' Ursin's 'Theologica,' which was the best I could then hear of. And (at first reading) by heart I learned them, too perfectly, as I now conceive. Afterwards, in Cambridge, proceeding in the same order and diligence with their logicians, philosophers, and schoolmen, I could at last learn them by heart faster than I could read them; I mean by the swiftest glance of the eye, without the tediousness of pronouncing or articulating what I read. Thus I oftentimes saved my purse, by looking over books in stationers' shops; and good reason, when I grew to the maturity of discerning, that much more was published under great names, and high pretences, than was fit to be recorded. Constantly I repeated in my bed (evening and morning) what I read and heard, that was worthy to be remembered. And by this habitude and promptness of memory I was enabled, that when I read to the students of King's College, Cambridge, (which I did for two years together, in all sorts of the current philosophy) I could provide myself without notes (by mere meditation, or by glancing upon some book) in less time than I spent in uttering it: yet they were then a critical auditory, whilst Mr. Bust was schoolmaster of Eton. This was no more pains than to empty the honey into the combs, which are prepared ready. And to him, that considereth, how every perfect reader devours the whole period in a moment, before he can pronounce the first syllable with true emphasis, it will be no strange or incredible matter, that one should string up any discourse, and sort it to known topicks, and provide appendent topicks for novelties, with an undisturbed dispatch.

"In these beginnings, I accused my memory as much as any man, as defective for strange names, words, alphabets and languages, not fully understood; but observing how, in the prints of those days, the names were printed in a bright Roman print (all over the pages liquidly distinguished from the black English print) I reviewed them apart, and learning them in order, made such as I had learned a kind of topicks, to assist me in the learning of the rest, and made them and the paragraphs the handles, on which I did hang the particular branches of the story.

"Thus by the alphabet consisting of few elements, and those having their comparisons or rests upon the vowels (the leading letters linking their formations into syllables, as they fell out to be one, two, or more syllables) I found a regular aid, which afterwards would indifferently serve for the farther acquiescent of any words, names, or strange language; and the spirit delighting in order, relations, parallels, similitudes, and novelties, I did daily learn the names of places, persons, or things, so as to annex them always to some former impress; which renewed the former impression and secured the new. And thus, by impressing the *Parces*, *Cyclops*, *Furies*, *Charites*, *Muses*, *Sybillas*, &c., their names, significations, order, and number; one fastened another, and gave encouragement for the like promptness in other like matters."

whole clavis of 700 sentences of Eil. Lubin, which enables them speedily to run through Proclus, Diomedes, Aratus, Dionysius Afer, and other old writers of the elements of philosophy, that under one they may learn the elements of languages and of arts. And this I find, that by this habitude of promptness in the acquist of these tongues, they are not only enabled and fitted, but fired and inflamed to get the other learned languages. For which cause I do now deplore mine own want, and in this age I must begin to learn, for which I think I need not blush, since I am not 53 years old, which is far beneath the age in which Cato learnt Greek. This engagement emboldens me to solicit you into a trouble to procure some friends to enquire what easy grammarians are abroad and best commended, what their bulk, and the like for lexicons. In this I mean any other eastern language except the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac (of which I am provided). I mean the Arabic, Coptic, Æthiopic, Armenian, Persian, &c. I have sent for Walton's¹ *Introductio ad*

¹ *Introductio ad Lectionem Linguarum Orientalium, concilium de earum studio feliciter instituendo et de Libris quos in hunc finem sibi comparare debent studiosi.* Per Brian Walton; Lond. Roycroft, 1655, 12mo. Dr. Clarke observes that, "short as are his didactic examples, they are still of great utility to a learner." It came out contemporaneously with the first volume of Walton's *Polyglot*, of the history of which immortal work, as well as of the life of its author, a good account is given in Todd's *Memoirs of Walton*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1821. In the second volume Todd has very properly reprinted the "*Considerator Considered*," one of the finest specimens we have in the language of well-merited and bitter castigation. Dr. John Owen, his antagonist, though indisputably a man of extensive learning and no ordinary powers, is a mere child in the hands of Walton, and needed all the support of a strong party of pupils and admirers, and of the reputation which he had acquired by works of real value and importance, to enable him to bear up against such an attack. The excellence of this little work, the only published English production of its author, except that on the London tythes, might lead us to inquire whether more are not in existence. Where are his MS. sermons? and has the tract which appeared at Oxford in defence of the Church of England, entitled "*Answer to an Ungodly Pamphlet*," &c., been yet discovered? Todd was unable to find the latter, and is inclined to question its existence, but he had evidently not referred to the original authority for the fact, "*The Parliamentary Intelligencer for December 3-10, 1680*," which is so clear and positive that there can be little doubt of the appearance of the work and its authorship. Who would like to lose a defence of the Church of England by Walton, or can forget his generous determination when it was under a cloud, "*Ecclesie Angli-*

Lecton., so that I shall spare your friends the pains that will therein occur. Neither will any grammar do me much good in my way of learning languages, except I may be informed of some considerable treatise fit to be read in those tongues. For after the first air of the grammar, and promptness in the character, I search after the use and style of the language. I would also know the usual price of Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton*,¹ or who else hath done better, and whether Walton hath performed what he undertook in that kind. The incomparable Angelus Caninius² undertook the Punic tongue; but I

canse, utut jam despicatæ, monumentum perenne erigere, in omne ævum duraturum, quo omnibus pateat eam, cum maximis augustiis premeretur, oraculorum divinorum et animarum curam non deposuisse, nec defuisse inter ejus filios qui, etsi σκῆβαλα et περικαθάρματα του κόσμου et πάντων περίψημα habeantur, ejus auspiciis opus, quo orbi Christiano utilius post canonem SS. Scripturæ consignatum nullum evulgatum (absit invidia verbo) elaborarunt." Præf. in Bib. Polyglott? His most enthusiastic reception at Chester on taking possession of his bishopric, and his instalment on the 11th September, 1661, excited the gall of his puritan adversaries in the highest degree. The following extract, from Burghall's "Providence Improved," is worth reprinting as a curiosity: "Some remarkable passages happened in the coming down of Bishop Walton to Chester, and while he was there. 1st, his coach was overturned and his wife's face sorely hurt by falling out of it. 2ndly, the troops of horse that came to meet him (Sir George Booth's and Philip Egerton's) fell at odds on Tilston Heath about precedence, and were ready for blows. 3rdly, coming through Tarporley, and the bells ringing for him, a man was almost killed with the stroke of a bell. 4thly, Captain Cholmondeley's wife, going to visit him with a present, fell and broke her arms. 5thly, a man coming to Chester to congratulate him, and to complain of somebody, fell down before him and died; which much amazed and frightened him. 6thly, Dr. Winter, a pious and learned man, being silenced by him, told him to his face he would have no comfort for so doing when he must appear before Christ, which was not long after. Within a while Mr. Lightfoot, his chaplain, died also."—*Tracts printed at Chester, 1778, vol. ii. p. 947.*

¹ This lexicon was first published at Hanover in 1612, after the death of its author, Valentine Schindler. In the *Historia Bibliothecæ Fabricianæ* (1719, 4to, vol. iii. pp. 236–7) are collected the opinions of several eminent Hebrew scholars upon this important work.

² The "incomparable" Angelus Caninius was one of the greatest linguists of the sixteenth century, but the materials for his biography are scanty. His "*Hellenismus*" which was republished by Crenius, who has prefixed a preface de claris Angelis, has met with the highest praise, and is his masterpiece. It is preferred by Tanaquil Faber to all the Greek grammars which had been published up to his own

never saw what he or others performed in it. I desire also to know the bulk and price of Valerius Probus de Notis Antiquis.¹ Our constant and very kind friend Dr. Worthington is well able to direct me in all these matters, and if you please to add your requests, I believe he will bestow this favour upon me; and herein to oblige you and him, I shall now further acquaint you that myself having some promptness in most kind of characters, I do thereby delight my young students, and (as it were) play them into the familiar use of any character that belongs to such languages as are within my reach; and I do assume to myself a more than ordinary promptness in teaching others (with ease and delight on both sides) as much as myself can learn, as Mr. Waller² did lately in my hearing tell the Vic. Ranelagh³ in how short time I made him prompt in arithmetic,

time. Mr. Hallam observes: "Caninius is much fuller than Clenardus. The syntax is very scanty, but Caninius was well conversant with the mutations of words, and is diligent in noting the differences of dialects, in which he has been thought to excel." Joseph Scaliger tells us that this "incomparable" man was a wholesale plagiarist from Vergara, of whose grammar, now a scarce book, Mr. Hallam gives an account (Introduction to Lit. of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries, second edition, 1843, vol. i. p. 487.) Magius, in the dedication to his treatise de Equaleo, mentions Caninius's introduction to the Syriac and Punic languages.

¹ This very useful treatise of Valerius Probus, the grammarian of the time of Nero, was published in Gothofredi (D.) Auctores Latinæ Linguae, Genev., 1595, 4to, and has been since very frequently reprinted. It seems to be a different work from that noticed by Aulus Gellius, xvii. 9, "de occulta literarum significatione."

² Waller, the poet, of whom Beale remarks in one of his letters to Boyle (Boyle's works, folio edition, vol. v. p. 427): "When we communicated studies at Beconsfield, he told me, that he could not trust his memory with the Lord's prayer, or a benediction for the table; yet I then admired his prompt sagacity, both for elegances of language, and for depth of matter. And since those days, the greatest assemblies of England have found his harangues impregnable, and the politest wits do find enchantments in his poems. His case was this. He rode on a winged horse, Pegasus, whose flight was so swift and fervent, in a progress for fresh acquiescents (as the bees on mount Hybla) that he could not endure to task it, or to fetter it upon repetitions of known things. Or it was the curiosity, delicacy, or niceness of his spirit, which did rather constrain him to blank his mental tables, than to leave there any records, that were not choice and singular. And this in calmer stile was the case of Dr. Andrews, and other very profound persons."

³ Arthur Jones, the second Viscount Ranelagh, who died the 17th January, 1669. His lady, the sister of the excellent Robert Boyle, herself worthy of all praise, has been noticed, vol. i. p. 164.

but more to the applause of his apprehensions than of my didactic skill. For a specimen I here send Dr. Worthington a small letter, with my most affectionate service, to which I believe he needs no key, the device being simple, the model in printed books, at least in rule, if not in particular example, and being only an arithmetical operation. In this two characters are necessary to import each letter. To this device I prefer the other art of making each character signify two or more letters, which (to best use) I could perform if I knew about twenty distinct and differing characters belonging to twenty languages. And in this pleasant but trifling way I could make an introduction to twenty several languages or more at once, of which I intend you a full account. And for the key to this, lest it should involve you more than the matter is worth, I here send it with No. 3. Dr. Worthington's enquiries are so large that I should be much instructed if I knew the answers. I have longed for Matthew [in] the original Hebrew,¹ and I thought this inquisitive age would find it out. But I know not how we should trust a vulgar fame in such a point." Thus begging the favour of answering all the aforesaid particulars, I subscribe myself ever,

Sir,

Yours, &c.,

Sept. 5, 1661.

Sam. Hartlib.

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 279.

I hope you received mine last Saturday, which contained a large and particular answer to your enquiries. As for yours of Sept. 5, (though it came at a time of much interrupting business, by reason of friends and countrymen coming to me from the neighbouring Stourbridge fair, yet, rather than I would seem less

¹ Papias (Eusebius, Hist. Eoc. iii. 39) asserts that this gospel was first written in Hebrew for the use of the Jewish Christians, but no trace of any such original Hebrew text has yet appeared, and the actual existence of it seems very doubtful.

mindful of what is desired by you and Mr. Beal,) I hasten to make some return to Mr. Beal's enquiries, and in the order he placeth them.

To the enquiry about the best grammars and lexicons extant, viz. for the Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Persian languages, my answer is this, that the *Lexicon Polyglotton*, now in the press at London, will give, I hope, great satisfaction as to the languages in the *Biblia Polyglotta*, and there will be also grammars for the several languages.

By another enquiry of Mr. Beal's, viz. what Dr. Walton hath undertaken in this kind, it may seem that he hath not as yet heard of the design, which is not pursued by Dr. Walton, but by Dr. Castell, (sometime of Emmanuel College,) whose labours about the *Bibl. Polygl.* were not inferior to any one's. He and Mr. Clerk,¹ (an assistant also in the Great Bible,) persevering in their endeavours to do yet more good, about three years since printed some proposals for the printing of grammars and lexicons for the languages in the Great Bible. In Cambridge they found good acceptance, (and Dr. Castell professeth he received nowhere so much encouragement for the work as there,) and when some number of subscribers had paid the first sum, they began to open the press. But Mr. Clerk is called to an office in Oxford. Dr. Castell² yet resolves to go on *cum bono Deo*, and with the assistances of such persons as were fit for the work, and patient, he hath finished all the first tome; the other tome, now in the press, and the grammars, will be finished as soon as may be with convenience. That which hath retarded the work has been the paucity of subscribers (besides the unfaithfulness of some that subscribed). Dr. Walton

¹ Samuel Clarke, one of Walton's learned coadjutors in the Polyglot, considered in his own time only inferior to Pocock as an orientalist. He was a native of Brackley, in Northamptonshire. In 1658 he was appointed to the office of archi-typographus of the University, to which was annexed that of superior beadle of law. He died in 1669. — Todd's Walton, vol. i. p. 243.

² This magnanimous and most laborious scholar has been noticed, vol. i. p. 243. There is something extremely touching in Worthington's references to him and his great undertaking.

was more active, and had many active friends; he had also some benefactors that contributed to that great work. Dr. Castell is a modest and retired person, indefatigably studious, (and for many years his studies were devoted to these eastern languages,) he hath sacrificed himself to this service, and is resolved (for the glory of God and the good of men) to go on in this work though he die in it, and the sooner for the great pains it requires — so great that Peträus¹ and some others that were engaged by him to assist, were forced to desist, as being unable to endure such herculean labours. I never see Dr. Castell, nor think of him, but his condition affects me. He hath worn his body in the unexpressible labours which the preparations of such a work for the press require. He hath been forced to sell some of his no great temporal estate to procure money for the paying off the workmen at the press, the money subscribed falling short, and there being such a scarcity of persons so nobly affected as to contribute.² God preserve him in health that he may lay the headstone. God raise up some that may move others of ample fortunes to ennoble themselves by encouraging a work of so universal and diffusive a good. God reward him in the comforts of this life also. Persons deserving highly for their endeavours of the public good would have found not less encouragement in the heathen world. Such a one at Athens would have had the favour of the Prytaneum.³ Would such places were erected in Christendom!

In this *Lexicon Polygl.* it cannot be expected that the observations upon a word should be so large as in dictionaries which are for some one language; yet is not the *Lexicon Polygl.* thin and bare, like a lank nomenclator. It was one particular of my advice that they would do more than express the word and its Latin, that they would confirm the signification by good authorities quoted; and that for the Arabic words they would have a special respect, as

¹ Theodorus Peträus, frequently named in the first volume of this work.

² A better commentary can hardly be produced on Johnson's line, "What ills the scholar's life assail," than is afforded in the dedication to Castell's lexicon.

³ Vol. i. p. 245.

to the Arabic version of Scripture, so to the Mahometans' Bible, the Alcoran, besides the respect to Avicen. It may be hoped that sometime the original Arabic¹ of the Alcoran may be printed, which would better direct and enable Christians to deal with Mahometans. Erpenius² hath discovered an excellent method of printing in that specimen he printed relating to the story of Joseph. Hottinger hath, in print, engaged himself to the world to print it, with a version. I do not like starved lexicons.³ When the signification is confirmed by good testimonies, (as in Buxtorf's Talmudic Lexicon,) and when fit apothegms, proverbs, observations, &c., are pertinently brought in under such a word, the reader better remembers the signification, and reads with more delight.

The Arabic in this Lexicon Polyglotton will take in all or most of Golius his late Arabic Lexicon printed at Leyden in folio.⁴ For the

¹ The Arabic text was published by Abr. Hinkelman, Hamburgh, 1694, 4to, and has been critically revised and reprinted by G. Fluegel, Leips. 1834.

² Historia Josephi Patriarchae ex Alcorano Arabice cum versione Latina et Notis Erpenii, 1617, 4to. Thomas Erpenius was born at Gorcum in Holland in 1584, and after becoming one of the first Oriental scholars of his time, died at the early age of forty. For a list of his works see Chalmers's and other Biographical Dictionaries. He appears to have been indebted, as Worthington mentions, to William Bedwell, the great English Orientalist, for his first instruction in Arabic, and was the active promoter of the study of that language on the Continent. What is even more surprising than his acquirement of Eastern languages, he had read through all the works of Suarez, and could give an accurate account of almost every page of that interminable commentator, to whose twenty-two solid folios the pigmies of the present day look with astonishment and despair.

³ A sentence worthy of a good old scholar. A lean, lank lexicon is a prodigy demanding expiation. Dr. Johnson exulted that his dictionary would issue "vastâ mole superbus;" and Barker of Thetford, in the last conversation I had with him, claimed as his greatest merit, not his Junius discoveries, nor his monument (in two goodly octaves) to Dr. Parr, but that he had "plumped up the meagreness (!) of Harry Stephens."

⁴ In 1653, James Golius, who was born at the Hague in 1596 and died in 1666, was the pupil and successor of Erpenius, whom he followed in the Arabic chair at Leyden. He travelled in the East, where he became thoroughly master of the Turkish, Persian, and Arabic tongues, and brought back with him a most valuable collection of Oriental MSS., which were deposited in the Library at Leyden. For an account of his publications see the General Dictionary, tit. Golius.

better advancing of this work we lent them a treasure out of our University library, viz. about eight or nine volumes MS. of Mr. Bedwell¹ (who taught Erpenius), being a large Arabic Lexicon composed by him, the fruit of many years' labours, which he devoted to our library.

The care for the Persian Lexicon and Grammar doth chiefly lie upon Mr. Seaman,² of whose skill in the Turkish language I wrote to you heretofore; the same that out of Turkish MS. translated and published the Life of Sultan Orchan: he hath translated some of the New Testament into that language. Golius, professor at Leyden, did some years since promise to publish a Persian Dictionary, and to illustrate it with Persian proverba, apothegms, &c., but as yet I have seen no performance.

For the Coptic, I doubt not but Mr. Beal hath heard of Athanas. Kircher³ Prodomus Copticus, in 4to; his *Lingua Egyptiaca restituta*, in 4to; his *Obeliscus Pamphylus*, in one volume folio; and lastly of his *Oedipus* in three or four volumes, in a small folio. Mr. Petrus (lately with us in England) is the next that I know fit for such undertakings. He hath a strong impetus enforcing him to

¹ The name of this eminent man, who first gave an impulse to Arabic learning in Europe, who taught Erpenius and Pocock, and to whom Lightfoot expresses the highest obligations and Selden gives a glowing tribute of praise, has most unaccountably been omitted in our biographical dictionaries, with the exception of the recent one of Rose. Nearly all that seems to be known of him is that he was vicar of Tottenham, being presented to that living by Archbishop Laud. A list of his printed works will be found in Watts's Bib. Brit. under William Bedwell. His Arabic Lexicon still exists in MS. in the Public Library at Cambridge, and other of his MSS. amongst Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library.—See Mr. Brewer's note in his excellent edition of Fuller's Church History, vol. v. p. 371.

² William Seaman, whom Wood incidentally styles "an English traveller," an assistant of Dr. Castell, in his lexicon, and the first Turkish scholar of his time in England, but whose name does not appear in our general biographies. His works are—1. The Reign of Sultan Orchan, second king of the Turks, translated into English from the Turkish of Effendi. Lond. 1652, 8vo. 2. Ball's Treatise, containing all the principal grounds of the Christian Religion, translated into Turkish. Oxford, 1660, 12mo. 3. *Novum Testamentum Turcice versum per Gul. Seaman*. Oxon, 1666, 4to. 4. *Grammatica Turcica*. Oxon, 1670, 4to.

³ Kircher is noticed vol. i. p. 58.

travel again into the East. The king of Denmark allows a salary that sufficeth for his provision in journies, &c., but not to purchase MSS. He hath a great desire to procure and publish MSS., but

———— Magnis conatibus obstat
Res angusta domi —————

Salmasius,¹ in his *De annis Climacter.* promised his labours for the explaining the Coptic language, out of which he would undertake to give an account of the *Æones* in Irenæus, it being, as he thought, a vain attempt to explain them otherwise.

For the Armenian, I know nothing more than what is mentioned by Dr. Walton. Some books in that and other languages, with many coins, Mr. Nicholas Hobart (who brought them from Constantinople) by his last will gave to our University library. Heretofore you wrote to me the welcome news of two Armenian priests preparing to print the Armenian Bible at Amsterdam. Can you forget to enquire what was done in it? You write often to Amster-

¹ For an account of Salmasius see vol. i. p. 324. The following is the passage to which Worthington refers in his treatise *De annis Climactericis* (Leyden, 1648, 8vo, p. 575): "*Omnia illa vocabula (i.e. Æonum Valentini appellationes) mere Ægyptiaca sunt, ut alibi monstrabimus.*" Salmasius does not appear to have performed his promise. The book just mentioned, in which he makes it, is one of the most characteristic of his works. It displays erudition without stint or limit, acuteness often worthily and as often unworthily applied, and a mind constantly at work on points important and unimportant, on great questions and little. The days of such books are past, when a man could move lightly under the incumbrance of immense stores of learning, and while on his journey step aside at every turn, not "to sport with Amaryllis in the shade," but to have a tilt with Joseph Scaliger ("*miserrime hallucinatus est Scaliger*"); or with Picus of Mirandula ("*falsus est Picus Mirandulanus*") on some by-point; or engage single-handed with Cardan and the tribe of astrologers; or launch a thunderbolt against some jesuit Patristic editor ("*errat insulsum pecus Lioiliticum*"); or explain the meaning, never properly understood, of "*gradarius equus*"; plunge down into the depths of Petosiris, Necepsa, hexagons, tetragons, and trigons, emerging in an emendation of Manilius ("*proculdubio sic scripsit Manilius*"), or Julius Firmicus ("*cœcutiunt interpretes, ita legendus est*"), and an enquiry whether wine drinking prolongs life, arriving at the sensible conclusion ("*plurimum refert quale sit vinum*"), and as to the pernicious effects of water drinking ("*gutturatos, torminosos, et podagrosos facit*"); and, after completing a volume of a thousand pages, find that he was only just beginning to enter upon his subject.

dam. One would be solicitous about the issues of good things intended. And that friend who enquires of this particular, may know of the priests what account they have of that translation for its antiquity. They tell us of one as ancient as S. Chrysostom's times.

As for the enquiry concerning books in such languages (without which the pains and time spent upon grammar will not receive a due recompence) I must say, that my pursuit of those languages was cooled by that very consideration, that there were no printed books, none but MSS. which are kept close, and are not for common use; nor did I much care for to trouble myself about the keys when there was no treasure of things to be come at.¹ But I have often wished that there were a corban² for the advancement of such studies, that out of some public stock some (and they would not be many) might be encouraged to study those languages, and to travel into Egypt, Persia, &c., and be enabled to purchase those intellectual treasures for the enriching of others. But we are rather for their gums and spices, for what may minister to luxury and pride, than for what is intellectual, or the preserved remains of such ancients who were the glory of their times.

But if Mr. Beal would give his young students a taste of Arabic and Persian, I know not what may gratify them better than Warner's³ *Century of Persian Proverbs*, done also into Latin and explained, printed at Leyden 1644. As also Erpenius's *Century of Arabic Proverbs*, translated and explained; together with *Locman's Fables* translated and explained; both which are bound with the edition of his *Arabic Grammar* in 4to, at Leyden 1636. There is also *Historia Saracenica* published by him in folio, as also some Arabic authors by the most knowing in this language, Mr. Pocock; and some Persian authors by Schickard, Graves, Gentius, &c. I should be glad to hear that Mr. Pocock had published the *Philosophical Fiction* in Arabic, with a translation, of which you wrote

¹ A consideration which has had its weight with more than Worthington in regard to the study of the Oriental languages.

² From the Hebrew, signifying an offering or gift put into the poor man's box.

³ See Warner highly praised, vol. i. pp. 161, 172.

heretofore. There are by Erpenius and Hottinger composed certain Collections of Arabic MSS. (besides other printed catalogues;) but these rarities unpublished come not within the enquiry.

For Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton* I have it not, and it is long since I perused it. I liked several Hebrew observations in it; but then I had not Kimchi's *Roots* or *Lexicon*, nor Pagnin's *Lexicon*¹ (with the additions of Mercer and Cevellerius and Bertram) which translates much out of Kimchi and other Rabbinical authors; (the edition at Lyons in 1575 is a most fair and pleasing edition.) These with Buxtorf make me less solicitous about Schindler, otherwise a desirable author; the price of which is about 20s.

Concerning the performances in the Punic tongue I have but little to write. Bochartus² in his large geographical volume makes much use of his Phœnician conjectures, and that the Pœni were a Phœnician colony is not much controverted. There is in Plautus his *Pœnulus* a specimen of the tongue, where Hanno acts his part, upon which Mr. Selden³ hath done somewhat; but a larger and an inge-

¹ The excellent Hebrew *Lexicon* of Sanctus Pagninus, first published by Gryphius at Lyons in 1519 fol., and afterwards with the important improvements and additions of Jo. Mercerus, Ant. Cevallerius, and Bonav. Corn. Bertram, at Lyons in 1575, and Genev. 1614 fol. Genebrard (*Chronologia*, lib. iv.) observes of Pagninus that he had beaten all the Rabbins in this province; and Buxtorf, the Aristarchus in Hebrew lexicography, styles this the most perfect Hebrew dictionary (*Epist. ad Arianum*). Bertram's elegant preface on the labours of himself and his coadjutors is well worth reading.

² For a notice of Bochart see vol. i. p. 169.

³ What Selden has written in reference to the Punic in the *Pœnulus* will be found Seldeni Op. vol. ii. p. 220. The general facts of the life of this oracle of learning, in the six folios of whose collected works the widest range of erudition is exhibited in the most splendid profusion, are too well known to need repetition. The very respectable editor of the last edition of the "Table Talk" (ed. 1854 8vo) Dr. Irving, styles Aikin's *Life* (1812 8vo) "a judicious and well written one." It seems to me, like all Dr. Aikin's biographies, neither to be distinguished by much research, appreciation of character, or critical discrimination. Certainly a better is deserved by him who has been styled "the glory of the English nation" than that or any other which has been yet published. The character of Selden has never yet been more truly drawn than in that sentence of Anthony Wood, "His mind was as great as his learning, full of generosity, and harbouring nothing that seemed base." In his works he was too much engrossed in digging out his ore from the quarry to be very careful to polish

nious discourse upon it we may find in Petitus his Miscellanies, l. 2,

and refine it, and thus he is generally rugged, parenthetical, and obscure; and yet many passages might be referred to in his English works, and particularly in his prefaces and dedications, which in happiness of illustration and felicity of language are unexcelled. What he has left in verse would seem to indicate capabilities which, whether they would have advanced him to a high place amongst poets or not, would in all probability, if further cultivated, have given more harmony and grace to his prose style. His plan of composition he himself tells us. "In the course of composing, the testimonies were chosen by weight, not by number, taken only thence whither the margin directs, never at second hand. Neither affected I to muster up many petty and late names for proof of what is had wholly by all from antient fountains. The fountains only, and what best cleared them, satisfied me." (Op. vol. iii. part ii. p. 1072.) Profoundly master of English law, he grasped a much wider supremacy, and inrolled himself amongst the retainers of "true Philology, the only fit wife that could be found for the most learned of the gods. She being well attended in her daily services of inquiry by her handmaids, curious Diligence and watchful Industry, discovers to us often from her raised tower of judgment many hidden truths that on the level of any one restrained profession can never be discerned. Is not the company of this great lady of learning, with her attendants, as fit for a student of the common laws of England as for any other pretending faculty soever? I never heard that she was engaged alone to any beside Mercury." "Nor hath the proverbial assertion, that the *Lady Common Law* must lie alone, ever wrought with me further than like a badge of his family to whom (by the testimony of the wisest man) every way seems *full of thorns*, and that uses to excuse his labour with a *lion is in the way*." (Op. vol. iii. p. 88.) Of his English works his Notes to the first eighteen Songs of Drayton's Polyolbion and his Titles of Honor are the most pleasing. In the latter particularly all, that learning the most profound and varied and research and industry the most incessant could produce, are brought together on the subject. Of his Latin treatises those *De Dis Syris*, *De Jure Naturali apud Hebræos*, and his *Mare Clausum*, which last has given him an undoubted title to national gratitude, are his greatest works; but it is impossible to consult any of his writings, Latin or English, from the most elaborate even to a letter, such as that to Ben Jonson on the text on counterfeiting of sexes by apparel, without feeling some astonishment at the immense stores he had always at command—stores in which nothing was common or trite, and which had not overlaid or encumbered, as his works fully manifest, whatever *Le Clerc* may have asserted, the exercise of his reasoning and discriminating powers. His "Table Talk," notwithstanding the doubts of Dr. Wilkins and the deficiency of decisive external evidence, is too delightful a record of this splendid scholar to be relinquished on mere suspicion. The freedom of many of the opinions affords a sufficient explanation of the reason why it was not published during the lives of Selden's executors, to whom it was dedicated. To say that all of it is not worthy of his learning or judgment is to say nothing; for what great man always talks wisely? And we like Dr. Johnson all

c. 2. This is that Petitus¹ whose great labours upon Josephus I can

the better, and Selden certainly not a bit the worse, because he did not always speak judicially or as in a *concio ad clerum*. It must have been an era in the life of a young student in those days to be admitted to go along with Whitelock or Hale to that "noble dwelling" in Whitefriars where Selden lived with the Countess of Kent, to whom he had been secretly married, and "where he kept a plentiful table and was never without learned company," and where, with the tall frame and expressive gray eyes which Aubrey has depicted, he might be seen descanting at the head of that table. The "Boswell" to whom we are so much indebted ought not to be passed by, as he is by Dr. Irving, as if he was a mere mythical personage. Richard Milward, the compiler of the "Table Talk," of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a substantial clergyman, Rector of Braxted in Essex, and was installed into a Canonry at Windsor on the 30th June 1666. His death took place on the 30th September 1680. He does not appear to have come out with any publication in his lifetime. There is not I believe even a sermon of his extant. Enough for him to have collected and chronicled the wisdom, the playfulness and wit of one of the greatest scholars and philologists that ever lived, whose mind was saturated not merely with all that books and reflection acting upon them could furnish, but with the living inspirations derived from the converse of the poets, the philosophers, the divines, the antiquaries, and every eminent lawyer since the commencement of the century during one half of which he flourished; the familiar talk of one whom Bacon honoured and whom Jonson cherished as his friend, who had gone step by step with Drayton in search of many a river nymph along many a winding stream, and had saluted the birth of "Britannia's pastorals." Of such a man happy is the "Boswell." Though what he has given us bears no comparison to what with his opportunities he might have collected, yet let us be grateful to the memory of Richard Milward for having done so much, and for having furnished us with a volume which Dr. Johnson's authority has pronounced to be the first of its class.

¹ See Petitus noticed vol. i. p. 137. His correction and explanation of the "much vexed" passages in the *Pœnulus* may be seen pages 58—88 in his *Miscellaneorum Libri Novem*, Paris 1630, 4to, a volume which shows extensive and various learning and great critical skill. How little his explanation finally settled this *orux criticorum* will appear from the following note of F. H. Bothe in his *Plautus* (edit. Aug. Tau. 1823, vol. iii. p. 466): "Aut nihil aut parum hic vidisse Phil. Pareum, Comici editorem, Sam. Petitum in *Miscellan.*, Thom. Reinesium in *Ἰστορικῶν Λογικῶν* *Linguae Punicæ*, Jo. Clericum in libro *Gallicè scripto Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique de l'année 1688* seu tom. ix. p. 256, Sam. Bochartum in *Phaleg et Canaan*, *Operum ejus* Lugd. Bat. editorum tom. i. p. 721 sqq., Geo. Hen. Saphunium in *Commentatione Philologica quæ prodiit Lips. 1713*, aliosque tam veteres tam recentiores pluribus exsequitur Bellermannus, quæ apud ipsum legi satius est." It is amusing to see how quietly and coolly a commentator disposes of his predecessors. Whether they happen to be giants or pigmies,

never think of without a fear lest they should perish, or else, if bought by some Romanists, be lost to the world, as were the remainder of Bishop Mountagu's *Exercitationes* upon Baronius, sold for money into the hands of Romanists. How might Cocceius and Elzevir adorn and complete the edition of that most useful historian Josephus if they would part with money to purchase Petitus his notes, to which Grotius and Sarravius² refer, and expect great satisfaction from them.

"All wait alike th' inevitable hour,"

and have to give up their peculiar author or peculiar passage to a fresh critic with a newer commentary. At the present day it would not be difficult to find at least fifty critics who would be as little satisfied to take Bellerman as the *Œdipus* of the *Pœnulus* as he was to acquiesce in the learned divinations of any of the commentators who had gone before him.

¹ Richard Montagu, Bishop of Chichester, who died 1641, one of the most learned and able of English Divines, but little known or read in proportion to his merits at the present day. His biography will be found in the *Biog. Brit.* and Chalmers, but it has never yet been gone into with sufficient attention and research. He is remembered rather as the Arminian prelate than as the well matched opponent of Baronius and Selden. His Latin folios are masterly performances, and are exceeded by none in wide grasp of erudition and that power of dealing with it which makes even a folio pleasant reading. His English Answer to Selden on Tithes is one of the most delightful books to be met with on the shelves of old Philology, and, whether conclusive against that transcendent scholar or not on the portion of his work against which it is directed, is certainly read with much more pleasure than the elaborate and striking treatise which it opposes. It abounds in interesting passages, and has long been a favourite companion of the Editor of this volume. The anecdote in the text does not appear to have been noticed by Bishop Montagu's biographers. It is not stated by Worthington, by whom the sale was made, but as Millicent, the Bishop's Chaplain, turned Jesuit, and is said to have carried away the MSS. which Montagu had been at great expense in collecting, it is most probable that the continuation of his *Analecta* disappeared through the same channel.

² Claudius Sarravius, or Sarrau, whose very entertaining Latin Letters to different learned men were republished by Burman, and printed, along with Gudius's Correspondence, at Utrecht in 1697, 4to. Sarravius looked up to Salmasius as the monarch of letters, and the principal part of his "Epistles" are addressed to him. Without this interesting collection the materials for the biography of the eminent scholars who flourished 1635-50 would be incomplete. Sarravius always writes with liveliness and spirit, and his letters are full of literary history and critical opinions, opinions not however too much to be relied on when they respect any adversary of Salmasius, to whom he thus strongly expresses his adhesion: "*Salmasium amo impensius et contra omnes eruditi sæculi viros magnos.*" (*Sarravii Epist. edit. 1697, p. 154.*)

The fate which befel Picherellus¹ his labours makes me fear the worst concerning his countryman Petitus's MSS. Picherellus (a person of great learning, judgment and ingenuity) having finished his commentaries upon Matthew and Luke, (and what an excellent criticum jecur he had may appear by his paraphrase and notes in Cosmopœian a Mose descriptam, extant in that little volume of his Opuscula) he was persuaded by the famous Thuanus² that he would

¹ *Peter Picherellus*, a Roman Catholic Divine of great learning and acuteness, and who in many points approximated to the Protestant faith. He is praised in the highest terms by Beza, J. Casaubon, and Grotius, and to him Du Thou addressed the beautiful lines beginning—

“Senex optime, cui vita beata
Jam nunc, æthere qualis in supremo
Vivo vivitur atque sentienti
Prudenter facis atque Christiane
Dum quæ ignobile suspicit pavetque
Vulgus, negligis et subinde rides.
Hoc est vivere, non timere mortem
Et morti nimias moras trahenti
Non horrescere proximam senectam,” &c.

All that remains of his Commentaries and other works is contained in a small 12mo, published by Andrew Rivet at Leyden in 1629, pp. 368, the quality of which is so excellent as to render the loss of the great bulk of his writings a subject of deep regret. His admirable paraphrase and commentary on the first chapter of Genesis extend from p. 241 to p. 331 of the volume.

² The fate of this great historian, whom to know is to love and to read is to admire, and not to be acquainted with is a literary loss the extent of which those only who are well acquainted with his work can form an estimate of, has been truly singular. In his own country no edition of the Latin text of his history has appeared since the one commenced by Robert Stephens, of which the first volume only was published at Paris in 1618; while on the contrary he has been brought out in England with a care, expense and splendour which have never been bestowed on our native historians, one of the most brilliant politicians of the day, Carteret afterwards Lord Granville, receiving and revising the proofs as they came from the press, and nearly all the nobility and leading men of the time promoting the publication. In translation we have not been equally successful, that begun in 1729 having only proceeded as far as the twenty-sixth book of Du Thou's history, and the one announced by John Gee in 1761 having failed apparently for want of encouragement, while there is a French translation of the entire work. We yet want a new edition of the Latin text in a convenient form, Buckley's excellent and beautifully printed one being too large and cumbrous for continuous perusal, and the only issue in a pocket size being the eleven

apply his labours to Paul's Epistles, which he did, and not long before his death completed his annotations upon them. But what became of this tam pretiosa supellex (as Thuanus speaks) after his death, and how these best of goods came to be lost, could not be known; but they were made away, the labours of many years, the careful productions of a clear and piercing judgment. There were also some precious remains of the learned Schickard,¹ which the incomparable Peireskius upon the news of his death was very solicitous about; but I never heard that they were published after, if they were preserved.

To the enquiry concerning Valerius Probus de Notis Antiquis, scil. Romanorum (with whom Suetonius concludes his tract De Illustribus Grammaticis,) his treatise is a very little one, I mean all of him that I have seen; and together with Magno de Notis Juris, and also Petrus Diaconus de Notis Literarum more Romano, and some other like treatises, it is printed amongst the Auctores Latinæ Linguae, viz. Varro, Ver. Flaccus, Festus, Non. Marcellus, &c. This collection of such authors into one body, with the notes of the learned Dionysius Gothofredus² upon the chief of them, is printed in

volumes printed by Drouart (1609-18) which are of great rarity and do not extend further than the eightieth book. His charming narrative "De Vita Sua" has been translated into English in the version begun in 1729, but it ought to be reprinted in a smaller form, and would with fitting illustration make one of the most attractive in the series of autobiographies. Whether contemplated in his history or in his life, in his writings or in his character, the mind still derives the same impression of this admirable man.

¹ William Schickard a famous Hebraist and mathematician, born in 1592, died in 1635. For references to the different writers who have noticed him see Saxius's Onomasticon, vol. iv. p. 591: Gassendus's Life of Peiresk is not however mentioned amongst them, where Schickard is frequently named as a correspondent and friend of Peiresk. "Hearing of the death of the excellent Schickardus, whom the plague had taken away November foregoing, he used all diligence possible that such works as he left unprinted might be preserved and set forth, which he did by mediation and assistance of Matthias Berneggerus of Strasburg, a renowned man." Gassendus's Life of Peiresk in English, book v. p. 135, Lond. 1657, 12mo.

² Dionysius Gothofredus or Godofredus, a very learned juriconsult and critic, who (amongst other works) edited the Corpus Juris Civilis, Cicero, and the collection of Auctores Lat. Linguae above noted, and annotated upon Seneca. His conjectures

a thick 4to. The edition I have is that of Colen. 1622, and it cost me about six or seven shillings, I do not well remember which.

This is all for the present to the several enquiries in Mr. Beal's letter, which I have been enforced to write at such pieces of time as I could redeem from other occasions. Had I had a vacant season, I might have contracted my thoughts into a lesser room and prevented this tediousness. One passage in my former lines (viz. that about the Alcoran) puts me in mind of what I have read in Crinesius¹ his discourse *De Confusione Linguarum* (it is at the end of the chapter *De Lingua Arabica*) viz. "*Johannes Zechendorfius (Rector Scholæ Cygneæ, dominus et affinis meus perpetim honorandus, vir in γλωττογνωσία nostra undiquaque versatissimus) totum Alcoranum Latinitate interlineari reddidit, dogmata Mahumetica in margine ejusdem detexit, eaque scite confutavit, atque ita totum librum confecit, ut jam nil nisi impressorem, a typis Arabicis probe instructum, is ipse desideret.*" Thus Crinesius, Professor at Altdorpt Noricorum, wrote above 30 years since. If that Zechendorf be dead, I fear it may be with his labours herein as with Picherellus, Schickard, &c. If the MS. be not lost, it may be of use to Hottinger in his like design. I wish that all learned men who have spent themselves upon any worthy and useful argument, would secure their papers from being lost or embezzled through the avarice or folly of executors. If they would communicate them to the world before they themselves leave it, all would be secured.

on that author gave rise to a fierce controversy between him and Janus Gruter, in answer to whom Gothofredus published "*Pro conjecturis in Senecam brevis ad Gruterum responsio*," Francf. 1591, 12mo. He did not spare his adversary; but his "*Responsio*" is mere milk and water when compared with the truculent performance of another opponent of Gruter, J. P. Pareus, who in his *Analecta Plautina*, which he added as a seventh volume to Gruter's *Fax Artium*, lays on "*tortore flagello*" without remorse. It would be difficult to match this book and Scioppius's *Scaliger Hypobolimeus*, as scientific models of scholastic castigation, in the whole extent of literary controversy.

¹ Christopher Crinesius, an able Oriental scholar, who published, besides the treatise mentioned in the text, a *Syriac Lexicon* and other works. See Leigh's *Religion and Learning*, 1663, folio, p. 173.

To return to Mr. Beal. I am very glad that he finds vacancy from his other cares to bestow some hours upon the institution of youth, he finding in himself a great promptness in such didactic work. I very well remember the great esteem that Erasmus of ever blessed memory had for such work; and in his letter to Colet¹ he tells a pretty story of a discourse he had with a Master of Arts in Cambridge when he was enquiring for a fit person to undertake the care of Paul's School; and concludes, "Vides sapientiam Scotisticam, et habes dialogum."² I have often wished that the institution of youth were designed more to the advancement of piety as well as learning, and that the virgin innocence of childhood might be secured by the best methods of diligence. This both Colet and Erasmus had always inter principes curas. I wish that the tediousness of grammar rules might be prudently lessened, nor do I think the putting of them into verse hath given any relief. Herewith I

¹ Of Colet, see vol. i. p. 114. The best portrait of this excellent preceptor of youth is that furnished by Erasmus in his letters, in which Colet's memory will be permanently embalmed.

² The following is the passage referred to, which is contained in a letter from Erasmus to Colet, dated "Cantabrigiæ, postridie Simonis et Jude, 1513. (Erasmi Epist. edit. Lond. 1642, fol. 522) "Venit in mentem quiddam, quod ridebis scio. Cum inter magistros aliquot proponerem de hypodidascalo quidam non infimæ opinionis subridens: *Quis, inquit, sustineat in eâ scholâ vitam agere inter pueros qui posset ubi vis quomodoque vivere?* Respondi modestius, hoc munus mihi videri vel in primis honestum bonis moribus ac literis instituere juventutem, neque Christum eam ætatem contempsisse et in nullam rectius collocari beneficium et nusquam expectari fructum uberiorem, utpote cum illa sit seges et sylva Reip. Addidi siqui sint homines vere pii eos in hæc esse sententiâ ut putent esse nullo officio magis demereri Deum quam si pueros trahant ad Christum. Atque is corrugato naso subsannans: *Siquis, inquit, velit omnino servire Christo ingrediatur monasterium ac religionem.* Respondi, Paulum in charitatis officii ponere veram religionem: charitatem autem in hoc esse ut proximis quam maxime proximis. Rejecit hoc tanquam imperite dictum. *Ecce, inquit, nos reliquimus omnia, in hoc est perfectio.* Non reliquit, inquam, omnia qui cum possit plurimis prodesse labore suo detractat officium quod humiliter habeatur. Atque ita ne lis oriretur, hominem dimisi. Vides sapientiam Scotisticam, et habes dialogum." The dialogue is too characteristic of Erasmus to be omitted. He does not mention the name of his opponent, who in his "Reliquimus omnia" seems to have included his duties, his charity, and his christianity.

send a little essay¹ of Mr. Wase, pray send it from me to Mr. Beal; I wish it had been better bound; I had it thus from London. I the rather send it to him because it was the composure of one that had his education at Eton and King's College. It may signify something, though it condescends to those that are but out of their accidence, whom yet Mr. Beal finds to be capable enough for his purposes. This Mr. Wase came from Eton about twelve years (or more) since. He now lives in Essex.² He was one of the rarest youths in the school when he was there. Many years since he turned Grotius's³ Catechism into Greek verse, and another school-

¹ The essay intended is doubtless his "Essay on Practical Grammar," Lond. 1660, 12mo. Christopher Wase, the author, an excellent scholar and grammarian, was born at Hackney, in Middlesex, and admitted scholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1645. He afterwards became fellow of that body, but, for refusing to take the covenant, was ejected from his fellowship and obliged to leave the kingdom. He was subsequently taken at sea and imprisoned at Gravesend, from whence he contrived to escape, and served in the Spanish army against the French. He was taken prisoner in an engagement, but released soon after and came to England, when he was appointed tutor to William Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. He appears to have found a good friend in Evelyn, who notices him in his diary (February, 1652): "I brought with me from Paris Mr. Christopher Wase. He had been a soldier in Flanders, and came miserable to Paris. From his excellent learning and some relation he had to Sir R. Browne, I bore his charges into England and clad and provided for him till he could find some better condition, and he was worthy of it." Soon after the Restoration he was appointed master of the Free School of Tunbridge, in Kent. His death took place August 29th, 1690. Besides the works noticed in the text, and some translations, he published — 1. In Mirabilem Caroli Secundi. Restitutionem Carmen, Lond. 1660, fol.; 2. Considerations concerning Free Schools as settled in England, Oxford, 1678, 8vo; 3. Animadversiones Nonianæ, Oxford, 1685, 4to; and 4. Senarius sive de Legibus et licentiâ veterum Poetarum, 1687, 4to. His "Considerations on Free Schools" is a valuable tract, but the most learned and able of his works is the last, his "Senarius." Its merit has been fully allowed by the most eminent critics in classical literature, even by those who have felt themselves compelled to dissent from some of his metrical conclusions.

² At Dedham, near Colchester, in Essex, where he was at this time schoolmaster.

³ Grotii baptizatorum puerorum institutio cui accesserunt Græca ejusdem Metaphrasis a C. Wase et Anglicana Versio a F. Goldsmith, 1647, 12mo. A second edition of this appeared in 1650, and a third in 1668, with a somewhat different title and the addition of a "Praxis in Græcam Metaphrasin per Barthol. Beale."

fellow did it into English, and Dr. Grey¹ added testimonies of Scripture. Mr. Wase published that ancient poet Gratius² Faliscus his *Cynegeticon*, or poem of hunting, and translated it into English verse and added notes. This he did when he was tutor to the Earl

¹ Dr. Nicolas Grey was Wase's schoolmaster at Eton.

² There are few more attractive little books than the volume referred to, which bears for its title "*Gratii Falisci Cynegeticon*, or a Poem of Hunting by Gratius the Faliscian; Englished and illustrated by Christopher Wase, Gent.;" Lond. 1654, 12mo. It is recommended by Waller in an elegant copy of verses, in which he sings,

"The Muses all the chase adorne,
My friend on Pegasus is borne,
And young Apollo winds the horne;"

and concludes,

"None does more to Phœbus owe,
Or in more languages can show
Those arts which you so early know."

The preface and notes are lively, scholarlike, and amusing. Wase vindicates with great spirit, in a passage which may be taken as a specimen of his style, the diversion of hunting: "The exercise of hunting neither remits the mind to sloth and softnesse, nor (if it be used with moderation) hardens it to inhumanity; but rather enlines men to acquaintance and sociableness. It is no small advantage to be enured to bear hunger, thirst and wearinesse from one's childhood, to take a timely habit of quitting one's bed early, and loving to sit fast upon a horse. What innocent and naturall delights are they, when he seeth the day breaking forth, those blushes and roses which poets and writers of romances onely paint, but the huntsman truly courts! when he heareth the chirping of smal birds perched upon their dewie boughs, when he draws in that fragrancy of the pastures and coolness of the air! How jolly is his spirit when he suffers it to be imported with the noyse of bugle-hornes and the baying of hounds, which leap up and play round about him! Nothing does more recreate the mind, strengthen the limbs, whet the stomach, and clear up the spirit when it is overcast with gloomy cares, from whence it comes, that these delights have merited to be in esteem in all ages, and even amongst barbarous nations by their lords, princes, and highest potentates. Then it is admirable to observe the naturall instinct of enmity and cunning, whereby one beast being as it were confederate with man, by whom he is maintained, serves him in his designes upon others. A curious mind is exceedingly satisfied to see the game fly before him, and after that hath withdrawn itselfe from his sight, to see the whole line where it hath passed over with all the doublings and crossworks which the amazed beast hath made, recovered again, and all that maze wrought out by the intelligence which he holds with dogs: this is most pleasant, and as it were, a masterpiece of naturall magique; which in this author is amply set down in great variety. Afterwards, what triumph is there to return with victory and spoiles, having a good title both to his meat and repose."

of Pembroke's son. He hath of late employed himself about a shorter (and cheaper) dictionary¹ for young scholars. He began with the English, of which there was great need, there being very improper and impertinent Latin for some English words, to the great discouragement of young scholars, and for some words no Latin at all. The dictionary is either printed or near finishing, and I hear it will be a cheap one, as I wish all things of general use might be made to be.

In the beginning of his letter Mr. Beal writes of his acquainting his students with geography and practical philosophy. I know not whether he hath heard of the new edition of Ferrarius² his *Lexicon Geographicum*, printed by Mr. Daniel at London, in folio. There was an unhandsome quarto edition of it before, bad for paper, but worse for print, every leaf being full of mistakes. I was often soliciting Mr. Daniel to reprint it. I sent him (for an help) a former (lesser) draught of the book, but better printed, which was nowhere to be found but in Jesus College library. I have been an eyewitness of the great pains of Mr. Dillingham, that corrected it at the press; but before a sheet was printed he was enforced to examine the author and he had all the assistances of maps and books; and it was as much as he could do to read a sheet in a day.

There is a late handsome edition of Epictetus his *Practical Philosophy*. Dr. Meric Casaubon³ hath published his *Enchiridion*, toge-

¹ *Dictionarum Minus*, a compendious dictionary, English-Latin and Latin-English, Lond. 1662, 4to, a second edition of which was printed in 1675, 8vo. It is a compendium of Calepine, but done with so much judgment, says Dr. Littleton in his Latin preface to his dictionary, that one can hardly find anything in it which savoureth of barbarism. — Nichols's *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. v. p. 208.

² It was published in 1657. This useful geographical lexicon, by P. A. Ferrarius, first appeared in Milan in 1627, 4to. The London edition, printed by Daniel, to which Worthington refers, is certainly a great improvement on the previous edition. Ferrarius published other works, a list of which will be found in Watt.

³ Dr. Meric Casaubon's edition of Epictetus was published in 1659, 12mo. J. C. Schröderus, a subsequent editor (edit. Epic. Delphis, 1723, 8vo), places Meric Casaubon next to Wolfius: "Cui ut in loco sic in dignatione secundus succedit Mericus Casaubonus, vir eruditione in tantum ceteris equiparandus quantum ipse magno patri Isaaco Casaubono doctrina et elegantia cedit." — *Præfat.*

ther with a paraphrase upon it in Greek and Latin, written by an ancient Greek Christian, as also Cebes's Fable, and all with short notes.

But I shall weary with this long scribbling both you and Mr. Beal, to whom I am obliged for the ingenious specimen enclosed, and for his notices which he hath found so successful in the institution of youth. I have filled up all the paper. I must conclude with the assurance that I am

Yours always,

Sept. 9, 1661.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to p. 13.

Though I be very ill, yet I cannot but acknowledge the respect which is due to your large letter of the 5th Sept., which was very welcome.* I suppose you have received my letter with Mr. Beal's several requests. He writes again as followeth: "Mr. Oldenburg may perhaps be able to add some help to my former suit in recounting what grammars, lexicons, and other writings of help to languages are abroad in the old Punic, Coptic, Samaritan character, Ethiopic or other eastern tongue. I do not exclude the Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Mauritanian, Armenian, or any other strange character. Though I gave myself in my last the name of a pedant, yet I do not make it any part of my profession, nor did I ever help my shallow purse with such revenues; only to encourage others and to direct schoolmasters, (some of them being legally under my cognisance,) I have given some few specimina amongst my special friends. Your commendations of *Breviarium Linguae Graecae* and *De Idiotismis Linguae Graecae* have encouraged me to send for them, if the stationer can find them by these only titles. I have hitherto used *Manuale Seidelii* and *Lubini Sententiae* as they are reprinted in the lexicon of Schrevelius, and these seem to be large enough for our purpose, who do quicken and strengthen the ingeny by use and much practice to prosecute

every hint (as is necessary in the use and explication of characters in cryptology) and helping the memory with a little of formations of kindreds of composita upon every word that newly occurs. I perceive you did not quite understand the method which my last writing described in pedantry ; and therefore, if it please you, you may communicate it to Dr. Worthington, and that he may spread it [in] the north as I do here in the west, I will repeat it more plainly enlarged. As their reasons begin to open, at 14, 15, and 16 years of age, I acquaint them with Lord Bacon's Resuscitatio, page 225; thence I engage them to read in private, and to give me a memorative and exact account of the substance of Dr. Meric Casaubon's treatise, Of Use and Custom,¹ which by strange providence (for neither had seen this task or the other) is an enlargement of the same argument by express examples, modern and ancient. Then I show what hath been done wonderfully in the advancement of our spiritual capacities (and particularly of some men's memories) by art and practice. Then I make them prompt in all the rules and practice of artificial memory. All this while I ravish them with some of the pretty wonders of cryptography and such other mathematical or practical experiments as I have at any time found by reading, trials, or converse. By this time their spirits are hardened to the patience of studying, and are become as perfect θαυμαστοι in the practice of their memory as tumblers are in the agility of their bodies. And thus being quickly prompt in reading a language lately unknown, and taught from a few heads to search out derivatives and to reduce it to practice, first upon short sentences, they are unawares masters of all difficulties, and hugely delighted with their own successes and conquests. Sir, your friend that intends for Egypt should be well informed what

¹ This very interesting treatise is noticed vol. i. p. 62, note. In his essays on similar topics, Meric Casaubon is always entertaining and learned, and produces his extensive and discursive reading in a most agreeable manner. He was a favourite writer of Bishop Warburton, who in one of his letters tells us he had read him "through and through." I have traced many of the Bishop's opinions and the leading points of his grand hypothesis in the Divine Legation to their sources in Meric Casaubon.

Coptic MSS. are amongst us already, and what are worthy his enquiry, and especially their old learning." Thus far Mr. Beal, the letter being dated Sept. 7, with this addition: "I hear that Dr. Seth Ward¹ made a sermon in Whitehall of special note, to prove our Saviour a most generous person, and the Christian religion, if rightly understood, a most noble and ingenuous philosophy. Is it abroad?" But I am forced to make an end, only that I must tell you that another letter is brought me from your hands, with a book called *Methodi Practicæ Specimen, &c.*; but I having no time to peruse either letter or book, I must defer my answer till next occasion, remaining ever,

Worthy Sir,

Your truly, &c.,

S. Hartlib.

Sept. 12, 1661.

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Worthy Sir,

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to p. 13.

I expect every day to have answer from Mr. Beal upon your large glottical service. In the mean time I will go on to answer to the remaining particulars in both your letters. I will enquire whether Valesius be all Eusebius his Ecclesiastical History, or that part only De Vita Constantini. I told you before that Mr. Oldenburgh was returned into England, and Mr. Dury is going a great way up into Germany, but whither he doth not yet mention. I shall enquire whether Buxtorf's new edition of the Hebrew Bible and his *Critica Sacra* be finished and brought into the world. In my former, as I take it, I have given you an account from Mr. Rulice concerning the angelical vision or the man of Friesland; but not finding it in my notes, I shall repeat it again. It was in these words:—"I have received the extracts of your friends' letters, which I have imparted to Mr.

¹ This sermon was not included in the collection of Bishop Ward's sermons, published in 1674, 8vo, and does not appear to have been printed.

Rulice, who will be able to give you a more perfect account of the esteem to be had of the man, because he said he would speak to Schotan, one of the oldest preachers of this city, Amsterdam, a wise and grave man, to know of him what esteem and knowledge he hath of the Frieslandish old man to whom the angel appeared. I am fully of Mr. Beal's mind, that God will not make use of any whose life is not answerable to his will to be a witness for him, amongst men, of his counsels; and if he permits any to know future things it is rather to try men's dependence upon him in reference to his revealed will than to give them any true warning of that which may befall unto them for their good. Yet I am of opinion that God hath given power to some subordinate spirits in nature to know future events which are near at hand, and that he permits those events to be revealed indifferently, sometimes to good and honest, and sometimes to dishonest and vicious persons, or at least to such as are not sober and temperate in the course of their life. I have seen a letter of John Baptista Coen the learned Jew,¹ who turned Christian and was with our godly and judicious friends here at Amsterdam some years ago. He gives to his friend an account in Latin concerning a woman whom he calls a fatidica, whom he consulted withal before he went from Amsterdam, who, he saith, did foretel unto him the truth of all that hath befallen him for some years past. He went to her of purpose to ask what success he should have in the journey which he then intended to take in hand; and, as the custom is in consulting of her, the party

¹ He is mentioned occasionally in Hartlib's letters to Boyle: "We expect every week to hear more from Johannes Baptista Coen, who hath been a great while with Faber, that famed pretender in France, but is now at Dieppe. It is not impossible but I may tell you in my next that he is not far from the place where once Charing Cross did stand."—*Letter of February 28, 1653-4.* "Mr. Austin I hear is gone to the Duke of Holstein, and I am to send this letter after him. I shall count it a true civility in him if he shall acquaint me with the proceedings of Coen from thence according to my instructions. For hitherto I have been able to learn nothing but that that chemical and experimenting man hath spent vast sums of monies out of the foresaid Duke's purse, and that he hath brought nothing yet to perfection."—*Letter of March 25th, 1656.*

who makes the enquiry must be let blood, and she looking upon the blood,¹ and in the meantime drinking strong water, (they call it here brandywyne,) speaks that which is the prediction to be told unto him. She told him that he was to go to speak with somebody about a business which would not take effect with the party to whom he should speak first, but afterwards he would succeed in it with another. And such things as these, and far more particularly in many things which he knew she could not know from anybody, for they were in his own mind only, and yet he saith that it is fallen out as she told him. This example I allege to show what God doth permit, and that spirits may by the sight of a man's blood penetrate into much of God's will concerning him and his ways, and of the events thereof; which spirits I suppose are of a natural temperament as it were, indifferent to good or bad intents. Mr. Rulice writes as followeth:—"Concerning that man out of Friesland, I have enquired after him by one of our ministers, out of Friesland also, who knows him. He saith that he is an honest, plain man, and being here with him, brought him salutations out of Friesland, and told him, that having now these forty years prayed that God would by an angel make known to him how it should be with these countries, that at eleven o'clock at night in such a week and month, his chamber was as lightsome as it is by day, and an angel came to him and told him that God would punish these countries with famine, pestilence, and sword, if they repented not. I asked my colleague, the minister, whether that man desired him to make it known to us ministers, or to the Consistory, or whether he had given him a writing to deliver to us, (both these things Mr. Dury told me should be done,) but the mi-

¹ This curious mode of divination seems to have been derived from the Cimbrians, who, when they took the field, were accompanied by aged prophetic women, who were clad in white, had bare feet, and wore an iron girdle. The blood of the slain was brought in a sacrificial kettle, from which they divined. Those who wish to become fully acquainted with the history of this species of divination may consult O. Arnoldus's learned and elaborate dissertation *De Divinatione per Sanguinem*, published at Wittenburg in 1721, 4to.

nister, an ancient godly sincere man of my college, told me, No. But when he had said to the man of Friesland that he had no ground to make such a prayer, (that God by an angel would inform him, &c.,) he said he would speak no more of it. This is all I can say, he said he was commanded to tell the ministers his revelations, and if they did not warn the people, that those judgments would begin at their houses; yea, that he was threatened that in case he did not make known that revelation he should be three years dumb. But how it agrees with this, how he went away, told it none of the ministers here, and to his countrymen only in particular, but not that it should be made known to any, I know not. Truly we need not much seek after such revelations. Our sins tell us how it will be with us. And the Lord be blessed, the people hear it continually. I am going now to preach out of Matthew 24, in the exposition of which chapter I am come to 36, 37, 38 ver., which I must now begin to handle."

Thus far Mr. Dury and Mr. Rulice. I am called away, and therefore will conclude with Mr. Worsley's advertisement, in these words: "As to the lexicons, pray let Mr. Beal know that for the Hebrew (wherein only I can pretend to anything of a curiosity) I scarce find any but hath its peculiar excellency; and therefore though Pagnin, with the additions of Mercerus and Cevellerius, be accounted *instar omnium*, yet I have found most choice and most worthy things in Forsterus,¹ in Marinus² his *Arca Noë*, and in Schindler, and in each of them what I sometimes could not

¹ John Fosterus, a learned lexicographer, whose "*Dictionarium Hebræum*" was published Basle 1556, fol. Pagninus relied upon the Rabbins; Fosterus on the other hand explodes them altogether and derives his work, to use his own expressions, "*non ex Rabbinoꝝ commentis nec nostratium Doctorum stultâ imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum Bibliorum et eorundem accuratâ locorum collatione.*" Some able critics, in particular Schickard, and Cartwright in his prolegomena to his Annotations on Genesis, have shown that Fosterus has carried his dislike to the Jewish Doctors and their expositions much too far.

² Marcus Marinus, whose *Arca Noë* appeared Venice 1598, fol., one of the most elaborate of Hebrew lexicons, of which Wolfius remarks, "*Optandum certe foret ut opus elegantissimum nec adeo obvium in plurium manibus versaretur.*"

find in others. I think Avenarius¹ not wholly to be despised. For David de Pomis,² I have heard him commended and seen him, but have him not myself. Buxtorf's³ last Lexicon Talmudicum hath in many places also most choice Hebraical observations. The Lexicon Polyglotton, he will see what it is by the printed papers, the supervisor of which is, for his care, ardency, assiduity, and intolerable labour and pains thereof, never sufficiently to be commended." I am,

Worthy Sir,
Your most faithful, &c.,
S. Hartlib.

Sept. 24, 1661.

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Worthy Sir,

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as referred to, p. 13.

Yesterday Mr. Beal sent me an account as followeth : —
"I should now acknowledge yours of Sept. 21, containing Dr. Worthington's bounty. To his great pains and frequent favours I owe much more than I will attempt to express. His most learned instructions arrived here in good hour to give entertain-

¹ Jo. Avenarius published his Hebrew Lexicon first in 1568 and afterwards in 1589, fol. From the mention of it in the text it would appear to rank but low, but Pfeifferus and Wolfius notice it very favourably. There are in it many derivations of words in the German and other languages very ingeniously traced from the Hebrew.

² R. David ben Isaac de Pomis or Pomarius, who gives his lexicon a Hebrew title signifying *Germen Davidis*. It came out at Venice in 1578. Joseph Scaliger in a letter to Buxtorf (Epist. 244) makes but small account of it. "Lexicon David de Pomis tanti non est ut tantopere a me expeteretur. Nam ne inter mediocriter quidem doctos gentis sue eum pono."

³ Published from the joint labours of the two Buxtorfs at Basle in 1639, fol., in which all their stores of Rabbinical and Oriental learning are unfolded. Bochart extols it (Hieroz. P. i. p. 446) as "illud mirabile opus triginta annorum." Thirty years were certainly better bestowed on this important work than on the *Astrologia Gallica* of J. Baptist Morinus, or Vaugelas's French translation of Q. Curtius, both which took exactly the same time to bring to their completion.

ment to one Mr. Long,¹ minister at Bath, who was once of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, and bare great reverence to Dr. Worthington, as many others do in these parts. His studies are wholly confined to the main business of his calling, and being well entered, he was willing to be directed in any of the Eastern helps to the clearness of the text. We had this mutual emulation. It is hard to say which of us was best pleased with the fulness of these informations. But mine was the obligation; by my opportunities at Dr. Worthington's great charge, I am enabled to gratify many correspondents. I have had the same passion for Pichrellus, whose ingenuity I have much applauded, as you and Mr. Brereton may testify. And I once had a solicitous eye upon Bishop Montagu's labours; I deemed his collections fit to be reviewed and published by Dr. Meric Casaubon, who might be allowed his marginal asterisms in the right of his father, as Blondel² hath offered upon Grotius de Imperio. Mr. Wase hath done so well in restoring us to the life of Virgil's contemporary that I am sorry he should descend to the care of a vulgar dictionary. I cannot bow myself to such abecedarian slavery, but only as it is the best mnemonical expedient to the acquiescent of languages. Yet I have wished that some very ingenious person would reduce to the alphabet of a dictionary, the best notes of our learned critics and philologers, as is in part done by Ausonius Popma,³ and those adjoined to his brief volume. But I should wish the references clear and easy. Mr. Page⁴ and I have much

¹ Thomas Long, B.D., Prebendary of St. Peter's, Exon, and Vicar of St. Laurence, Olyst, Devon, a learned divine of the Church of England, who was born at Exeter in 1621 and died in 1700. A list of his numerous publications may be seen in Watt. He took a part in the controversy as to the author of *Eikon Basilike*.

² In his "*Scholia ad Grotium de Imperio Potestatum summarum circa sacra*." Paris, 1648, 8vo.

³ He alludes to A. Popma's very useful work, *De Differentiis verborum*, which has gone through many editions. Saxius in his *Onomasticon*, vol. iv. p. 26, gives a list of Popma's works and references to the authors who have mentioned him.

⁴ The person meant is probably William Page, Rector of East Looking, in Berkshire, who was born in 1590 and died in 1663. He had the character of being well

lamented Mr. Dunscombe¹ of King's in Cambridge (a man of reasonable intellectuals and incessant industry), who drowned himself in his Thomasius.² A better dictionary had given more wing and better relish. So we thought of Abraham Wheloc³ in Arabic, and the same we heard of Andreas Downes⁴ in Greek. If to each lan-

versed in the Greek fathers, an able disputant and a good preacher. A list of his works is given by Wood, amongst which are — 1. *The Peacemaker, or a Brief Motive to Unity and Charity in Religion*, Lond. 1652, 16mo; and 2. *A Translation of Thomas à Kempis*, 1639, 12mo, with a large epistle to the reader.

¹ Beal doubtless alludes to him in his letter to Boyle (Boyle's works, vol. v. p. 428) where he is enforcing the necessity of orderly arrangement in the acquisitions of the mind. "By sorting his ware in fit places, he (the student) may find in these immense chambers (of memory) room and fit places for much more that henceforth may be produced at command. And a little at ready call, in time of need, is better than a great deal out of reach or useless. I knew an industrious student (his name was Deane and Combe too) he studied dictionaries and had them by heart, but another with a few hundreds of words would have written better than he both in prose and verse. For use and practice enables us to have our wardrobe at full command. Every poet and orator finds that when his spirit and imagination is heated he hath such a brisk power over all his new and old notions and readings, words and conceits, and such variety throngs upon him (beyond his own expectation) that he is constrained to confess inspiration."

² The Latin dictionary of Thomas Thomas, or Thomasius, as he is here called, first published in 1588, which met with so favourable a reception that it went through fourteen impressions. The tenth edition was printed in 1615, to which Philemon Holland added a supplement. Thomas was succeeded by Rider and Holyoske.

³ This eminent Oriental scholar was born about 1593 at Loppington in Shropshire, and died in London whilst printing his Persian Gospels in 1658. He was the first Professor of the Arabic and Saxon tongues in the University of Cambridge and Keeper of the Public Library there. He was one of Archbishop Usher's correspondents and a zealous promoter of Walton's Polyglot, in the preface of which he is noticed as one to whom the editor was particularly indebted. The preacher of his funeral sermon (William Selater) says of him: "That which I observed worthy of universal imitation in him was his humble and exceeding modestie — much like to the violet, a flower of a sweet and delicious scent, yet groweth least in the garden, covering itself often with its own leaves: howbeit, as the odoriferous fragrancy thereof cannot but be discovered, so he, together with his accomplishments, could not be concealed; yea, as Syracides says of Simon, the son of Onias, he was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud." There are several letters to and from Wheelock in Sir H. Ellis's *Letters of Literary Men* (Camd. Society) 1843, 4to.

⁴ Andrew Downes, Greek Professor at Cambridge, and one of the translators of the

guage some centuries of proverbs were well chosen, they might give us the style and salt and peculiar genius of the nations that used that language. But I do hardly bear the insipidness of Lubin's¹ collections, and less those of Mr. Comenius in Latin. I mean his seven hundred sentences.² I must be more civil hereafter than to lay such intolerable burdens on Dr. Worthington, and I am not a little solicitous to devise some testimony of my thankfulness. But at this time am very weak, having lately opened a vein to decline violent symptoms." Thus far Mr. Beal. I thought to have added some other extracts of his former letters, but my wonted pains will needs hinder me. Hereafter, God willing, they may be imparted. I hope you received my former letter of September 24, which was sent by post. If you dare believe me, I am really

Honoured Sir,

Your much devoted, &c.

October 1, 1661.

S. Hartlib, Sen.

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

Yours of September 24 and October 1 I received. Your letter of September 24 mentions Mr. Dury's going into Ger-
Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 201.

Bible. Few men have done more to promote the study of the Greek language in this country. His *Prelectiones in Lysiam* were printed at Cambridge in 1593, 8vo, and those in *Demosthenes's Philippicam VI. de Pace* at London in 1621, 8vo. See the notices of him in the *Life of John Boyse* in *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*.

¹ Eilhard Lubin, of whom mention has been made before, was an useful labourer in the vineyard of classical literature, whose *Horace* and *Juvenal* were at one time much in request. The work referred to is his *Clavis Linguae Graecae*, frequently published in 8vo and 12mo.

² The book of Comenius, which is noticed, is his "*Vestibuli Latinae Linguae Auctarium*." It is included in the folio volume of his *Opera Didactica*, vid. part iv. p. 9, and is dedicated to "*Johanni Bulicio, Ecclesiae Amstelodamensis Pastori Vigilantissimo*," evidently the "*Mr. Bulice*" so frequently mentioned in these letters.

many. If he visit Hottinger at Heidelberg, he may be particularly certified about what he hath publicly promised concerning the edition of the Alcoran. In my letter to Mr. Beal's enquiries I mentioned a passage out of Crinesius de Confusione Linguarum, p. 62 [for the passage see p. 33]. Thus Crinesius wrote in the year 1629; he was then Professor of Divinity at Altdorpt Noricorum. Whether Zechendorf be dead, or his labours lost, I know not; I think if the book had been printed we should certainly have heard of it.

I suppose you have seen or heard of Descartes¹ his second volume of letters, wherein many or most of them are about matters betwixt him and Mersennus.² They are all in French that are in this

¹ See Descartes, noticed vol. i. p. 300. His letters are full of interesting matter, and indeed form a commentary upon his other works, which would be obscure in some places without them. His correspondence with Dr. Henry More, and which is included in More's Philosophical Works, 1712, folio, is not the least curious of his writings.

² Marinus Mersennus, a French writer, of very extensive erudition, a monk of the order of Minims, was born at Oyé, in the province of Maine, in 1588, and died at Paris in 1648. He was a sort of centre of the learned correspondence of his time, and in theology, philosophy, medicine, music, and literature, no question ever came amiss to him. He seemed to live to solve doubts and discuss difficulties, and to enact the part of an intellectual thrashing machine of no ordinary calibre. His enemies said he sometimes raised spirits that he could not quell, and propounded doubts that he was unable to dissolve, but his candour, disposition to assist others, and thirst for knowledge, were truly admirable. He ordered his body to be opened by his physicians after death, in order to learn the cause of his disease which they had been ignorant of, and to enable them to succeed better in curing those who should afterwards be seized with the same disease. They observed his directions, and found an abscess two inches above the place where they opened his side, so that if the incision had been made at the proper time his life might have been saved. Of his correspondence, which was carried on with Gassendi, Descartes, Hobbes, and nearly every philosopher and scholar of his day, it is to be regretted, only a very small portion has survived, but that is quite sufficient to make us ardently wish for more. Of his voluminous works a list is given by his biographer, Hilarion de Coste, in his French life of Mersennus (Paris, 1649, 8vo) and by Nicéron (vol. xxiii. p. 142). Those who are not deterred by the appearance of a Latin folio of upwards of 1100 pages, closely printed, will find "a perpetual feast where no crude surfeit reigns" in his *Questiones in Genesis*, Paris, 1638, folio. It would be difficult to find a more entertaining book

second volume; no letters to the Princess Elizabeth.¹ I did much rejoice when I heard of Mr. Dury's journey into Germany, for this (among other) reasons, that possibly he might visit that excellent princess. I have read in some of your papers an extract of a letter of hers, wherein she mentions some letters of Descartes to herself, which are not in the first volume of his letters, and are more worthy to be printed than several others in that volume. She also thought that the methodizing and placing of the letters might have been to better advantage. If those letters unprinted might be imparted to the public, they would be a great ornament to the second edition of these epistles; for I have spoken with some to deal about it with one who is able to translate well out of French into Latin, that so the letters in French might be done into Latin, the language which would make them most generally

of its kind, and, be it observed, it is not a mere book of compilation, as our own Willett's is in a great measure, but a work which bears the stamp of the author's own mind. It is completely interlaid with digression, and touches upon an immense variety of subjects, from Paracelsus's Homunculus to the mystic proprieties of the number 77; from the proper mode of dancing to the reason why a corpse bleeds at the touch of the murderer; from the questions of Trithemius to the exact shape and material of Adam's first breeches. He was deeply learned in music and was quite an enthusiast in the science, so much so as to look upon it as a part of religion. It is to be doubted whether he could have believed any faith to be orthodox where the music was heretical. Mersennus's Questions on Genesis brought him into severe conflict with Robert Fludd, the English Rosicrucian, against whose cabalistic errors he is very vehement. Fludd answered with much acrimony but little logic in his "*Sophiæ cum Moriâ certamen*," Francof. 1629, folio, and his "*Summum Bonorum per Joachimum Frizium*," 1629, folio. To these answers Mersennus made no reply. Gassendi had so completely exposed Fludd and his philosophy in his *Epistolica Exercitatio*, 1628, 12mo, that the Rosicrucian was probably deemed unworthy of further notice by his first opponent. It has been often repeated by bibliographers that the leaves 669 to 676 in the *Questiones in Genesim*, which contain a list of persons whom Mersennus stigmatized, and some very unjustly, as atheists, were suppressed in nearly all the copies, and that a perfect one with those leaves is of the greatest rarity, "*albis corvis rarior*." In the course of my examination of numerous copies of this work, three of which are in my own library, I have never yet met with any in which the leaves did not occur. It seems therefore a matter of doubt whether they were ever actually suppressed.

¹ For a notice of this most philosophical Princess, see vol. i. p. 210.

useful. And whereas the publisher of the first volume of the letters (not being so well acquainted with Latin) did publish the contents of the Latin letters in French, all might be made more complete, and, if need be, better placed for the order according to the matter of them, besides the correcting of an infinite number of errata in the first edition. And both these volumes of letters put into one would make a handsome book. I need not write to you of the both pleasure and profit in reading the epistles of worthy men.¹

When you hear of Buxtorf's design at Basil, write a line about it; it is very long in the press methinks, and I wonder that it sticks so long there. In my last letter to you but one I enquired about Mr. Rulice, of what way or persuasion he was; from him I perceive came most of the relation concerning the old Frieslander to whom an angel is said to have appeared. By this last letter of yours I perceive there is little more discovery made of that matter and the long-bearded angels, of which I think enough is said in relation to Van Helmont.

Mr. Wray is returned from his northern journey; he hath travelled about 700 miles in all. He went from Cambridge to Peterborough, to Crowland, to Boston, Lincoln, Hull, Scarborough

¹ As yet few collections of the letters of his great contemporaries had been made. The correspondence of Usher, of Grotius, of Gerard John Vossius, of Ruarus, of Thomas Bartholinus, of Conringius with Bornibergius, of Nicolas Heinsius, and of Guy Patin, had yet to appear, from which Worthington would have derived "both pleasure and profit," all of them containing elements and materials very dissimilar, yet all equally necessary to any one who wishes to become acquainted with the literary history of the age in which Worthington lived and the characters and peculiarities of some of its most distinguished scholars. Of the last, Guy Patin, the French letters only have been published. His Latin letters form a collection still more extensive and entertaining. A *MS.* transcript of them, prepared for the press, is in my possession. The length of the correspondence, which would if printed have reached at least half a dozen volumes, was probably the reason why the publication was not proceeded with; but the variety of Patin's inquiries, the liveliness of his style, the freedom with which he gives his opinions, and his thorough knowledge of the literary men of his age, and the gossip of the day, render it an excellent commentary on the scientific and critical annals of the middle of the seventeenth century.

spaw, the wells at Knaresborough. At Hull he met with caraways growing wild, which Gerard took no notice of. From Knaresborough wells he brought away some petrified moss. At Aldborough¹ in Yorkshire he met with several pieces of old Roman coin, and some of the Roman pavement; he and his company brought away with them some of both (as also at their return some of the Roman coins at Littleborough in Nottinghamshire, which the country people call swines' pennies, because the swine rooting into the ground oftentimes turn them up with their snouts). Through the bishopric of Durham and Northumberland they passed into Scotland² and went as far as Stirling. They were in the Bass Island, and both saw and fed on the Soland geese,³ but they found all was not true which is usually reported of them. They came back by Glasgow, Carlisle, and through Westmoreland, and, if some of the company's horses had not failed, had gone to Kendal to visit the woman whose strange story I wrote to you of.⁴ He

¹ "At a place called Alborough we gathered up amongst the people divers ancient Roman coins, both brass and silver, which are daily found in the plowed fields and about the streets there. Those pieces that have radiate crowns on the heads of the effigies they call Saracen's heads, all the rest Aldburgh halfpennies."—*Itinerary in Ray's Remains*, 1760, 8vo, p. 162.

² Ray does not seem to have liked his entertainment in Scotland. He says: "The Scots have neither good bread, cheese, or drink. They cannot make them, nor will they learn. Their butter is very indifferent, and one would wonder how they could contrive to make it so bad. *They have rarely any bellows or warming pans.* The people seem to be very lazy, at least the men, and may be frequently observed to plow in their cloaks. They lay out most they are worth in clothes, and a fellow that hath scarce ten groats besides to help himself with you shall see come out of his smoky cottage clad like a gentleman." He mentions that "he saw Argyle and Guthry, their heads standing on the gates and toll-booth [at Edinburgh.] At the time we were in Scotland divers women were burnt for witches, they reported, to the number of 120." Pages 188–198.

³ These were the Bernacles which, according to old historians, grew out of shells or trees. "In Scotia Anatum seu Anserum Genus Bernacles ex conchis aut arboribus vulgo nasci perhibetur."—*E. Ottonis Notitia rerumpublicarum*, p. 297. Ray observes: "The young ones are esteemed a choice dish in Scotland, and sold very dear (1s. 8d. plucked). We eat of them at Dunbar. The laird of this island makes a great profit yearly of the Solan geese taken, as I remember, they told us £130 sterling."

⁴ Vol. i. p. 340.

saith he met with few plants but what he had found elsewhere ; very little to be observed of plants in Scotland. The best counties for plants were Westmoreland and Yorkshire. But of these and the like matters he can give the best account himself.

Mr. Beal puts too great a value upon my large letter. I am glad if I may in any measure be serviceable upon any useful occasions. Mr. Wase, whose little book I sent, is now removed from Dedham, and chosen to the school at Tunbridge ; he was nominated for Merchant Tailors' school in London, and it was carried by one voice against him for one who was son to one of that company. He is fitted for other (and more splendid) employments than the composing of a dictionary ; but I look upon it as a great piece of humility, and also of charity, to undertake this work, which being very imperfectly performed by others, and withal so useful and necessary for youth, is not to be neglected ; and if it be not undertaken by some worthy person that can deny himself in stooping to such a condiscent [condescension], it will never be well performed, and young scholars will always be abused in the first setting out of their studies. If some dull and mean persons should undertake these designs, there will be but little advantage for the better facilitating of youth in their first studies. Tunbridge school is not so obscure as Dedham. Indeed that more public school in London (or any such) would have been happy in him, whose worth, when he was at Eton, did so shine out, that Dr. Whichcote at his first coming to the Eton election (about fifteen years since) took notice of it, and made choice of Wase for King's College, who had no friends to recommend him, nor anything but personal worth, which, if it were always duly regarded in all places, would make a flourishing nation.

In a former letter of yours you speak of Dr. Seth Ward's preaching a sermon at court, upon a very important argument ; I never heard of it before your letter, nor do I know yet whether it were printed. He succeeds Bishop Reynolds¹ in his church at St.

¹ Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, was born at Southampton in 1599 and died at Norwich 1676. In 1620 he became Probationer Fellow of Merton College, Oxford,

Laurence Lane, and hath some preferment in the cathedral of Exeter.

Mr. Smith¹ of Christ College (who was our public library keeper,

was afterwards made Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, and on the Rebellion breaking out joined the Presbyterian party, was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, and took the Covenant. In 1648 he was appointed Dean of Christchurch, but ultimately refusing the engagement was ejected from his deanery. He is said to have been the author of "The Humble Proposals concerning the Engagement," Lond. 1650, 4to, which was answered by John Dury in his "Just Reprovals to Humble Proposals," Lond. 1650, 4to. Exerting his influence, which was very considerable with the Presbyterian party, to bring in Charles the Second, he received the bishopric of Norwich as his reward on the Restoration. Sir Thomas Brown, an unexceptionable witness, speaks highly in favour of his personal character and the manner in which he sustained his episcopal office. Anthony Wood's fulmination is less against himself than his wife, one of the "womankind," which was the plague of poor Anthony's life. He calls her "covetous and insatiable." The works of Bishop Reynolds have been collected in six volumes 8vo, Lond. 1826. Amongst them his "Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soul" may be selected as one of the best of his compositions. It is written with great vigour of style and power of illustration, and will well reward a perusal. Those who like to see the same subject differently treated may, for the purpose of comparison, consult Thomas Wright's entertaining work, "On the Passions of the Mind in General," of which the best edition was published Lond. 1690, 4to. Bishop Reynolds wanted not learning, ability, nor fancy, and though he cannot be placed in the very highest rank of English divines, on the same pinnacle with Taylor, Pearson, Cudworth, and Barrow, yet he will always occupy a very respectable place amongst the theological writers of the seventeenth century, whose works form a necessary part of every good library of English literature. He should certainly not have been entirely omitted, as he is, amongst the divines noticed in Cattermole's *Literature of the Church of England*.

¹ Thomas Smith, whose skill in Oriental learning Walton has highly extolled in the preface to his *Polyglot*, and who was one of the original correctors of the press during the progress of that work. He translated Daille's *Apology for the Reformed Churches*, to which he prefixed an excellent preface, containing the judgment of an university man, concerning Mr. Knott's last book (*Infidelity Unmasked*) against Mr. Chillingworth, and which is an able vindication of Chillingworth against the two jesuits Knott and Lacy. This translation was published in 1653, 12mo. He also printed a short life of Mr. William Moore, of Cambridge, which appeared in 1660, 12mo, and a sermon of Colet, which came out in 1661, 12mo (see vol. i. p. 345). Todd in his *Life of Walton*, vol. i. p. 257, has given an interesting letter from Hammond to Smith, in which he expresses strongly his opinion of Knott and warmly praises Grotius. It is to be regretted that more is not known of this Thomas Smith and that his remains are so scanty. He is not to be confounded with the Oxford Thomas Smith, the author of the *Diatribe de Chaldaicis Paraphrastis*, 1663, 12mo, and other learned works.

one well versed in books) is lately dead of the new disease, which spreads all over England, but is least in the north.

The remainder of this paper is to assure you that I am

Yours affectionately to serve you,

October 7, 1661.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Worthy Sir,

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to p. 13.

I hope you have received my two last of September 24 and October 1, which was an answer to your glottical or philological letter from Mr. Beal. I made bold to impart your large letter to Mr. Patrick concerning the old man of Friesland and Otto Faber. He was pleased to return the following lines: "I give you hearty thanks for communicating to me Dr. Worthington's excellent letter. To the two last stories in it concerning bearded angels I can add this, which I read long ago in a sermon of Dr. Thomas Jackson¹ upon 13 Luc. 5. In the reign of James the IV.

¹ The passage referred to will be found in Dr. Thomas Jackson's works, vol. ii. p. 358 (folio edition). The historian from whom he derived this well-known story is Buchanan. (See *Buchanani Opera*. edit. Edinb. 1715, fol. i. p. 251.) Sir Walter Scott has alluded to it in "*Marmion*."

"For that a messenger from heaven,
In vain to James had counsel given
Against the English war.

(*Marmion*, canto iv. 14.)

"This story is told by Pitscottie with characteristic simplicity: 'The king, seeing that France could get no support of him for that time, made a proclamation, full hastily, through all the realm of Scotland, both east and west, south and north, as well in the Isles as in the firm land, to all manner of man betwixt sixty and sixteen years, that they should be ready within twenty days, to pass with him, with forty days' victual, and to meet at the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh, and there to pass forward where he pleased. His proclamations were hastily obeyed, contrary to the council of Scotland's will; but every man loved his prince so well, that they would, on no ways, disobey him; but every man caused make his proclamation so hastily, conform to the charge of the king's proclamation.

"The king came to Lithgow, where he happened to be for the time at the council,

of Scotland (who was contemporary with our Henry the VIII.) a little before the famous battle in Flodden Field (as I remember) a

very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God, to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage. In this mean time, there came a man clad in a blue gown in at the kirk-door, and belted about him in a roll of linen-cloth; a pair of brotikings* on his feet, to the great of his legs; with all other hose and clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his head, but syde† red yellow hair behind, and on his haffets,‡ which wan down to his shoulders; but his forehead was bald and bare. He seemed to be a man of two and fifty years, with a great pike-staff in his hand, and came first forward among the lords, crying and speiring§ for the king, saying, he desired to speak with him. While, at the last, he came where the king was sitting in the desk at his prayers; but when he saw the king, he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned down groffing on the desk before him, and said to him in this manner, as after follows: "Sir King, my mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass, at this time, where thou art purposed; for if thou does, thou wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Further, she bade thee mell|| with no woman, nor use their counsel, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou theirs; for, if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame."

"By this man had spoken thir words unto the king's grace, the evening song was near done, and the king paused on thir words, studying to give him an answer; but, in the mean time, before the king's eyes, and in the presence of all the lords that were about him for the time, this man vanished away, and could no ways be seen or comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen. I heard say, Sir David Lindesay, lyon-herauld, and John Inglis the marshal, who were, at that time, young men, and special servants to the king's grace, were standing presently beside the king, who thought to have laid hands on this man, that they might have speired further tidings at him: but all for nought; they could not touch him; for he vanished away betwixt them, and was no more seen.'

"Buchanan, in more elegant, though not more impressive language, tells the same story, and quotes the personal information of our Sir David Lindesay: '*In iis (i.e. qui proprius astiterant) fuit David Lindesius, Montanus, homo spectatæ fidei et probitatis, nec a literarum studiis alienus, et cujus totæ vitæ tenor longissime a mentiendo aberrat; a quo nisi ego hæc uti tradidi, pro certis acceperissem, ut vulgatam vanis rumoribus fabulam, omissurus eram.*'—Lib. xiii. The king's throne, in St. Catharine's aisle, which he had constructed for himself, with twelve stalls for the knights companions of the order of the thistle, is still shown as the place where the apparition was seen. I know not by what means St. Andrew got the credit of having been the celebrated monitor of James IV.; for the expression in Lindesay's narrative, '*My mother has sent me,*' could only be used by St. John, the adopted son of the Virgin Mary. The whole story is so well attested, that we have only the choice between a miracle

* Buskins. † Long. ‡ Cheeks. § Asking. || Meddle.

grave old man came to him as he was in his chapel at evening prayers, and warned him not to go further in that expedition which he had then in hand; for if he did, it should be much to the damage of him and all his followers. He also warned him not to use the familiarity, company and counsel of women, for it would prove to his loss and disgrace. The event is known, that he, proceeding in that expedition, lost his own life, with the flower of all the Scotch nobility; so that the historian thinks the calamity could be paralleled in no nation besides the Egyptian. That he had a beard is very likely,¹ though he do not mention it; for he calls him *Senex capillo in rufum flavescente ac in humeros promisso, fronte in calvitium glabro, capite nudo, veste longiusculâ cyanei coloris amictus, ac linteo cinctus, cætero aspectu venerabilis*. Sir David Lindsey,² a person far from lying and of great integrity, was then present, and related this to the historian, from whom Dr. Jackson hath it. And truly methinks it is very agreeable to reason that the angels in such a shape should appear upon the like grave occasions, that they may affect the minds of those before whom they present themselves with greater reverence to the message. I wish you could get your friend with whom you correspond to enquire after a book of Sebaldus Schnellius³ against

or an imposture. Mr. Pinkerton plausibly argues, from the caution against incontinence, that the queen was privy to the scheme of those who had recourse to this expedient, to deter King James from his impolitic warfare."

Drummond's version, which seems to be taken from Buchanan (*Hist. of Scotland*, edit. 8vo, 1682, p. 217) does not give any fresh particulars.

¹ On the contrary, here is a most minute description, without any mention of a beard. The presumption is therefore (to discuss a point so important with all fitting gravity) decidedly against the spectre being a bearded one.

² "Sir David Lindesay of the Mount,

Lord Lion King-at-arms," (*Marmion*, canto iv. 7.)

is a personage too well known to render it necessary to give any summary of his biography. Of his poetical works an elaborate edition was published by George Chalmers in 1806, in three volumes 8vo.

³ The life of this learned man, though not given in the general Biographies, has been particularly written by J. B. Riederer, and published at Altdorf in 1744, 4to, in which is a full account of his various works.

Abarbanel.¹ It is cited sometimes by Hoornbeck,² a professor at Leyden, but no bookseller in London ever heard of it." Having written thus far, I received your last of October 7. I shall write (God willing) to Mr. Dury of Hottinger. Some say that Mr. Dury is gone to the Prince of Gotha,³ the glory of the princes of that house, whose character, as I remember, I have given you in some of my former letters. I take notice of your passage out of Crinesius de confusione linguarum, and shall write accordingly to Mr. Dury of it, but especially about the Princess Elizabeth, who lives for the present, as I take it, with the landgrave of Hesse. I wish heartily that both these volumes of letters were put into one book and published. I have heard nothing expressly about Buxtorf's design, but I believe it is published. Mr. Petreus was lately with me, going for Oxford, to continue no longer than a month, and to return back to Rotterdam to perfect and print more of his translations of the lesser prophets, which are near done all of them. There should have come along with him a famed linguist or Palatine scholar, one Mr. Nisselius,⁴ who hath near printed the

¹ Isaac Abarbanel, one of the most eminent of Jewish expositors, whose Hebrew Comment on the Pentateuch and Prophets has been highly praised. Hugh Broughton, himself a match for a whole phalanx of Rabbins, does not give him a very favourable character. "Some Jews of malice study to pervert all Christian doctrine, as this man Abrabaneel or Barbanel, a Rabbin of great pains and wit but not of grace, and only to be followed when he is clearly on our side." — Hugh Broughton's Observations upon the first ten Fathers. See Saxius, vol. ii. p. 505, for a reference to notices of Abarbanel.

² The Life of this very learned and able Dutch Divine has been written by David Stuart and prefixed to his treatise De Conversione Indorum. He was a great ornament of the University of Leyden, where he died in 1666. A list of his works, which are very numerous and were principally written in defence of various points of faith, will be found in the General Dictionary, art. Hoornbeck. Bayle, by no means generally favourable to theologians of his class, mentions him in the highest terms.

³ Ernest the Pious, who considerably augmented his province of Gotha and caused it to be erected into an independent principality by the German Diet. He promoted the welfare of his subjects and restored order and tranquillity in his dominions, which had been desolated by the thirty years war. This pattern of princes died in 1675.

⁴ J. G. Nisselius, a learned printer at Leyden, who died in 1662. He published "*Fœdus inter Muhamedem et Christianæ Religionis populos initum, Arabicæ et*

Hebrew Bible with points, very neatly, exactly, and portable. It is one of the best prints that ever I saw of that sacred volume printed at Leyden. Having a week or two respite he thought to have gone for England, to see and know the state of our universities. But just at the nick of time that he should have gone, he was countermanded and was left behind. It is not likely now that he will come, else I should have been very willing to show him any possible courtesies. This recommendation came from Mr. Rulice, who is now one of the public ministers at Amsterdam, a very honest man, but a Presbyterian, somewhat narrow spirited, yet keeping a fair correspondence with many others which are not of that way. He lived a great many years with the late Mr. Cotton¹

Latine" (Lugd. Bat. 1661) and several other works. Reimann observes: "*Perrara sunt omnia J. G. Nisselio.*" (Bib. Theol. Hild. 1731, 8vo, p. 940.)

¹ The Life of John Cotton the eminent Puritan, the apostle of Boston in New England, has been written with much unction by the author of the biography in Samuel Clarke's *Lives* (1677, fol.) and with still more by his grandson the famous Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*, of which most original work a new American edition has recently, and no present could be more welcome, been published at Hartford (1858, two vols. 8vo). The latter of Cotton's biographers thus commences his Life:— "*Were I master of the pen wherewith Palladius embalmed his Chrysostom the Greek Patriarch, or Posidonius eternized his Austin the Latin oracle among the ancients, or were I owner of the quill wherewith among the moderns Beza celebrated his immortal Calvin, or Fabius immortalized his venerable Beza, the merits of John Cotton would oblige me to employ it in the preserving his famous memory.*" In plain prose, however, John Cotton was born at Derby on the 4th December, 1585. In due time he became Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. While yet in an unregenerate condition, Mr. Perkins died, "and when he heard the bell toll for the funeral of Mr. Perkins his mind secretly rejoiced in his deliverance from that powerful ministry by which his conscience had been so oft beleaguered." Soon after a change came over him, and being called upon to preach at St. Mary's, instead of a learned, he preached a plain, practical sermon. His biographer records that "the vain wits of the University discovered their vexation at this disappointment by not *humming*," which was their mode of applauding a popular preacher. Dr. Preston, afterwards the leader of the Puritan party, being present, before the sermon was ended found himself "pierced at the heart," and thus Cotton "became a spiritual father to one of the greatest men of his age." He afterwards settled himself as minister of the Church of Boston in Lincolnshire, and married Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, "the sister of Mr. James Horrocks a famous minister in Lancashire." His house at Boston was full of young students, some of

of Boston and Mr. White¹ of Dorchester, having been formerly

whom were sent out of Germany, some out of Holland, but more out of Cambridge, for Dr. Preston would still advise his new fledged pupils to go and live with Mr. Cotton, so that it grew into a proverb that Mr. Cotton was Dr. Preston's *seasoning vessel*. His Puritanism made him obnoxious to the High Commission Court, and he found it necessary to leave old Boston for New Boston in New England, where he was called upon to frame a platform of law, in which he took the Mosaic code as his model. He flourished in high reputation at New Boston till his death, which took place in December, 1652. His custom, his grandson informs us, was "to sweeten his mouth with a piece of Calvin before he went to sleep." In preaching he thought with old Mr. Dod "that Latin was flesh in a sermon." His delivery was set off "with a natural and becoming motion of his right hand." "*The hardest flints have been broken upon this soft bag of Cotton.*" It is mentioned that while he was preaching, "a woman among his hearers who had been married sixteen years to a second husband now in horror of conscience openly confessed her murdering her former husband by poison, though thereby she exposed herself to the extremity of being burned." He was an indefatigable student, and called twelve hours a scholar's day. His biographer tells the following anecdotes, which are amusing enough. "Mr. Cotton had modestly replied unto one that would much talk and crack of his insight into the revelations, Brother, I must confess myself to want light in those mysteries. The man went home and sent him a pound of candles, upon which action this good man only bestowed a silent smile. He would not set the beacon of his great soul on fire at the landing of such a little cock boat." "A company of vain wicked men having inflamed their blood in a tavern at Boston, and seeing Mr. Cotton come along the street, one of them tells his companion, 'I'll go, said he, and put a trick on old Cotton.' Down he goes, and, crossing his way, whispers these words into his ear: 'Cotton,' said he, 'thou art an old fool!' Mr. Cotton replied: 'I confess I am; the Lord make both thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation.'" His prose works were numerous, and are particularly referred to in the "*Magnalia*" (vol. i. p. 280). Cotton Mather informs us that the children of New England were to that day most usually fed with his excellent catechism which is entitled "*Milk for Babies.*" That "*savoury treatise,*" "*The Way of Life,*" seems to have been amongst the most popular of his works. Of his poetry we have an extraordinary specimen given in his life. The following is an extract:

"When God saw his people, his own at our town,
That together they could not hit it,
But that they had learned the language of Askelon,
And one with another could chip it,
He then saw it time to send in a busie elf,
A joiner, to take them asunder," &c., &c.

Clarke's Lives (p. 224).

¹ John White, usually called "Patriarch of Dorchester," was born at Stanton, St.

recommended by the late K.[ing] of Bohemia to the University of Cambridge, where Dr. Preston¹ took special care of him. He is a

John, in the county of Oxford, in 1574, and died at Dorchester in July, 1648. He was one of the Assembly of Divines, a person, says Wood, of great gravity and presence, and who had always influence on the Puritanical party. A neighbour of his, a physician, of the name of Lossius, has highly extolled him in his *Observationes Medicinales*, Lond. 1672, 8vo. p. 85, "but," observes Wood, "it must be known that these things were spoken of him after White had bequeathed to the said physician one of his pieces of plate." Wood, however, allows that he was one of the most learned and moderate in the Assembly of Divines. A list of his works will be found in the *Athens Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 235.

¹ John Preston, a very famous Puritan divine, a most interesting biography of whom is contained in *Clarke's Lives of Thirty-two English Divines* (p. 75), was born at Heyford, in Northamptonshire, in 1587, but "was descended from that family of the Prestons that lived at Preston, in Lancashire, from whence his great grandfather removed upon occasion of a fatal quarrel with one Mr. Bradshaw, a neighbour gentleman, whom in his own defence he slew, and satisfied the law, and was acquitted for it; but not the kindred, who waited an opportunity to be revenged, as the manner in those northern countries then was. It fell out not long after, that Master Bradshaw's next brother meets Master Preston near to the place where he had slain his brother, and told him he should do as much for him, or he would revenge his brother's blood. Mr. Preston told him he had slain his brother against his will, and in his own defence; that he bore no evil will unto them; desired him he would forbear, but when nothing would prevail, they fought, and Bradshaw fell again. But Master Preston was troubled and grieved at it, for he saw a fire was kindled that would not easily be quenched, and therefore resolved that he would leave that fatal and unlucky country, though he was a gentleman of a very fair estate; and walking one day pensive in Westminster Hall, one Master Morgan, of Heyford, with whom he was acquainted, came unto him, and asked why he was so sad? to whom, for answer, he relates the former story. Master Morgan knowing him to be a gallant man, was very sensible of his estate, and told him if he would go with him to Heyford, he should have a good farm to live in for the present, and what accommodation he could afford him. Master Preston thanked him, and after some consideration of the matter resolved to take his offer, and so Master Preston of Preston, in Lancashire, became a kind of farmer in Northamptonshire, where he afterwards lived and died."—*Clarke's Lives*, pp. 75–8.

John Preston, his grandson, became distinguished at the University of Cambridge, in which he was admitted of King's College, but afterwards removed to Queen's. The account given by his biographer of the manner in which he managed a solemn dispute before King James on his visit to Cambridge, though rather long, affords so singular a picture of the times and of the university, that it deserves to be extracted. Preston was the opponent in the act, Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Wren the answerer, and Dr. Reads moderator. "His (Preston's) great and first care was to bring his argument

perfect Englishman, and hath preached in English for many years both in England and at Amsterdam in former years. Most of the

unto a head, without affronts or interruptions from the answerer, and so made all his major propositions plausible and firm, that his adversary might neither be willing nor able to enter there, and the minor still was backed by other syllogismes, and so the argument went on unto the issue, which fell out well for Master Preston; for in disputations of consequence, the answerers are many times so fearful of the event, that they slur and trouble the opponents all they can, and deny things evident, which had been the case in all the former acts; there was such wrangling about their syllogismes that sullied and clouded the debates extreemly, and put the king's acumen into straits: but when Master Preston still cleared his way, and nothing was denied but what was ready to be proved, the king was greatly satisfied, and gave good heed, which he might well do, because the question was tempered and fitted unto his content, namely, *whether dogs could make syllogismes*. The opponent urged that they could. An enthimeme (said he) is a lawful and real syllogisme, but dogs can make them. He instanced in an hound who had the major proposition in his mind, namely, the hare is gon either this or that way; smels out the minor with his nose, namely, she is not gon that way; and follows the conclusion, ergo this way with open mouth. The instance suited with the auditory, and was applauded, and put the answerer to his distinctions, that dogs might have sagacity, but not sapience, in things especially of prey, and that did concern their belly might be *nasutuli*, but not *logici*; had much in their mouthes, little in their minds, unless it had relation to their mouths; that their lips were larger than their understandings: which the opponent, still endeavouring to wipe off with another syllogisme, and put the dogs upon a fresh scent, the moderator (Dr. Reade) began to be afraid, and to think how troublesome a pack of hounds, well followed and applauded, at last might prove, and so came in into the answerer's aid, and told the opponent that his dogs, he did believe, were very weary, and desired him to take them off, and start some other argument; and when the opponent would not yield, but hallooed still and put them on, he interposed his authority and silenced him. The king in his conceit was all the while upon Newmarket Heath, and liked the sport, and therefore stands up, and tells the moderator plainly he was not satisfied in all that had been answered, but did believe an hound had more in him than was imagined. I had myself (said he) a dog, that, stragling far from all his fellows, had light upon a very fresh scent, but considering he was all alone, and had none to second and assist him in it, observes the place and goes away unto his fellows, and by such yelling arguments as they best understand, prevailed with a party of them to go along with him, and bringing them unto the place pursued it unto an open view. Now the king desired for to know how this could be contrived and carried on without the use and exercise of understanding, or what the moderator could have done in that case better, and desired him that either he would think better of his dogs or not so highly of himself. The opponent also desired leave to pursue the king's game, which he had started, unto an issue, but the answerer protested that

relations concerning the old Frieslander came from Mr. Dury, and not from him. I hear no more of the Frieslander, but got lately the enclosed from Mr. Comenius, which are a continuation of those visions, most of which are printed in the book called *Lux in Tenebris*.¹ I thank you for the apodemical narrative which you have made concerning Mr. Wray. I hope that Mr. Wray himself will set out the observables of his botanical journey. I fear Mr. Beal is fallen sick, because he complained in his last of an illness, and hath not written this week. I am of your opinion concerning Mr. Wase in compiling a profitable dictionary. You do not tell me where Dr. Whichcote is at present; I have few such friends as he hath been to my distressed condition. I can hear nothing neither of Dr. Seth Ward's sermon. I fear it is not in print. If I hear the contrary, you shall soon G.[od] W.[illing] hear of it. I am sorry for Mr. Smith's departure, whom I knew very well, if it be

his majestie's dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted not by common law, but by prerogative. And the moderator, fearing the king might let loose another of his hounds, and make more work, applies himself with all submissee devotion to the king, acknowledging his dogs were able to out-do him, besought his majesty for to believe they had the better; that he would consider how his illustrious influence had already ripened and conoocoted all their arguments and understandings; that whereas in the morning the reverend and grave divines could not make syllogismes, the lawyers could not, nor the physitians; now every dog could, especially his majestie's. All men acknowledged that it was a good bit to close with. It was grown late, and so the congregation was removed unto the Regent House, and the king went off well pleased with the businesse. The other acts were easily forgotten, but the discourse and logick of the dogs was fresh in mouth and memory, and the philosophy-act applauded universally. The king commended all the actors, but above all, the opponent."—*Clarke's Lives* (pp. 80–81). Preston's subsequent career as the leader of the Puritan party, and his connexion with Buckingham, form part of the general history of the times, and are fully enlarged upon by his entertaining biographer, Thomas Ball the preacher, of Northampton (*Ibid.* p. 114), and the historians of the period. He died in 1628, having not quite reached his forty-first year. His various sermons and other works were exceedingly popular in his own day, but their superiority is not so marked, when compared with the great mass of the sermons and treatises of the contemporary divines, as to ensure them a permanent and abiding reputation, and a place amongst the standard productions in English theology.

¹ See for an account of *Lux in Tenebris*, vol. i. p. 138.

he of Christ College in Cambridge. Thus I take humbly my leave,
remaining always

Worthy Sir,

Your heartily, &c.,

S. Hartlib sen.

[— October, 1661.]

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

I received a little tract called Health's Storehouse and a letter from you without date, in which I find a fit parallel story to the two others I wrote to you about bearded angels. I am glad that you have an interest in the acquaintance of Mr. Patrick, whom I mentioned to you. You told me you would write to him for the favour of his books, which I suppose you have received and found to be worthy of perusal. The character of the Prince of Gotha (the glory of the princes of that house) you suppose you may have sent it to me; but if I had received any such paper I should not forget it, because such characters are rare and desirable and I should have fixed it in my mind; we do not easily forget what we love to read. When I go to Cambridge I may enquire about Sebaldus Schnellius against Abarbanel; I never saw it, and if it be not to be found in London I doubt I shall not meet with it in Cambridge. I am glad Petræus is publishing his translations of the lesser prophets: in what language are they? He is most for the Coptic language. I sent to London to enquire about Valesius his edition of Eusebius, but they do not hear of it there. If Petræus call upon you before his return to Holland you may know whether Josephus be in the press. I suppose he or Nisselius may be well acquainted with Cocceius the Leyden professor, and with Elzevir the printer, because they both are engaged in printing business, as your letter mentions. Dr. Whichcote goes this week to London. He hath had a quartan ague, and is not likely to be free from it till spring.

Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 295.

He hath taken a house upon Bednal Green. Mr. Smith that died was he of Christ College, whom you knew? he was an industrious man, and fit to be the keeper of the public library. Mr. Barrow hath begun this term his Greek lectures. He is off from Sophocles, and reads upon one of Aristotle's best pieces, viz. his Rhetoric,¹ which was thought more considerable and useful to discourse upon than Sophocles his Electra. I wish he would publish his great and long travels² (as you wish that Mr. Wray would his shorter ones). I remember he told me that when he was at Constantinople one Bobelius³ (he who wrote that Turkish story, being a Spahi and a servant in the seraglio, and who gave him that collection of Turkish proverbs,⁴ both which I sent you) showed him his translation (in writing) of Comenius his Janua into the Turkish language; so that the book has been attempted in more languages than Mr. Comenius perhaps knows of. Is the quarrel ended between Comenius and the author of *Irenicum Irenicorum*?⁵ that he may in his latter years compose himself to more pacate studies, and leave younger men to deal with martial theology, from which old men should be at rest. Dr. More is returned to Cambridge. His volume goes on apace at the press. To conclude, I wish I could hear of your health confirmed into some tolerable settlement,

¹ Barrow's Lectures on Aristotle's Rhetoric were lent to a person who never returned them, and are now, it is to be feared, irrecoverably lost. See Hill's life, prefixed to the first volume of Barrow's English works, Lond. 1716, folio.

² The principal record we now have of these travels is his very interesting *Iter Maritimum a portu Ligustico ad Constantinopolim*, November 6th, 1657. Vid. *Opuscula Latina* (vol. 4 of his works), 1687, fol., pp. 211-226. In this poetical itinerary he seems to have taken Rutilius as his model. Like his other Latin poems, it deserves more notice than it has yet received, and it is to be regretted that he did not give a full account of the whole of his travels, instead of detached portions only, either in the same form or in prose.

³ The person referred to is Albert Bobovius, musician of the seraglio, who wrote "A True Relation of the Designs managed by the old Queen, wife of Sultan Ahmed," for which see Barrow's works, vol. iv. folio edition, p. 196.

⁴ "Adagia quædam Turcica," which are printed at page 192 of the 4th vol. of Barrow's works.

⁵ Zwicker, of whom, and of Comenius's quarrel with him, see vol. i. p. 292.

and that you had also vacancy to peruse those many bundles of papers your study is furnished with, that so out of them you might extract such select passages as would make a *Silva Silvarum*, or a Collection of Memorable Things, as Goulart did.¹ Under several general heads you might fitly dispose and rank such memoirs of different natures and importances, in several kinds of knowledge, as would be useful as well as delightful by reason of the variety of matters therein represented. The like is also done by the learned Camerarius² in his *Operæ Subcesivæ*. Here is printing at Cambridge an English Concordance, as full (it is said) as Newman, but so contrived that it will not be above 12s., which is half the price

¹ Simon Goulart, a Protestant divine, who was born at Senlis in 1543 and died at Geneva in 1628. He was a voluminous writer, but the work referred to is his very entertaining "*Histoires Admirables de nostre Temps*." Paris, 1607, 2 tom. 8vo. Tome troisieme et quatrieme, Gen. 1614, 8vo. The two first volumes were translated by E. Grimestone, and entitled, "*Admirable and Memorable Histories, containing the Wonders of our Time, done out of French*," Lond. 1607, 4to. This work afforded many plots to our early dramatists.

² Philip Camerarius, a son of the celebrated Joachim Camerarius, whose letters he edited jointly with his brother Joachim. Philip was born at Tubingen in 1537 and died at Nuremberg in 1624. He was a learned lawyer, and, in his intervals of leisure, put together his *Horæ Subcesivæ sive Meditationes Historiæ*, of which he published three centuries in 1615 in a thick 4to volume, reprinted at Frankfort in 1644 and 1658, certainly one of the most agreeable miscellanies, though now little read or noticed, that have ever been compiled, and which contains a vast amount of curious, interesting and valuable matter. The author was proceeding with a fourth century, when it was cut short by his death. There is an English translation of the first century only, under the title of "*The Living Librarie, or Meditations and Observations historical, natural, moral, political, and poetical, done into English by John Molle, Esquire*," Lond. 1621, folio. The translator in his preface observes of the author: "*Being wearied and tired, his usual manner was to retire and betake himself unto the reading of historical authors full of delightful varietie, yet withal very advantageous and profitable. This kind of studie, or rather recreation, was so pleasing unto him, that, conversing with such books, he imagined himself as in the flourishing spring time of the year, seated in some curious garden, set and beautified with all kind of fruitful trees, pleasant plants and fragrant flowers, with the fruit and odours whereof he revived his wearied spirits as with a proper repast, pulling and culling thence sundry observations both delightful, memorable, and profitable, which, like the industrious bee, he used to asport and make his own, by committing them to his serious cogitations and second thoughts as to an hive.*"

of Newman's. There is a book said to be extant called *Mirabilis Annus*,¹ which I suppose you have seen or heard of, it containing many stories of prodigies and strange occurrences. There is a late story² of a boy that died at Cambridge, struck on the eye by a woman that appeared to him and had for ten years haunted his father's house in the Isle of Ely; but the particular relation is not yet perfected so as to be fit to send. Dr. Ingelo lately called on me, but could not stay. I suppose Mr. Brereton is returned out of Cheshire. I shall now only add that I am

October 26, 1661.

Yours in all reality,
J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Honoured Sir,

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to, p. 13.

Your last is dated October 26, 1661. Mr. Patrick³ is a pious and very useful man, and ready to do me any good that lies

¹ See vol. i. p. 268.

² The following version of the story is given by Baxter: "Mr. Franklin, minister of a town in the Isle of Ely, had a child to which a spirit often appeared at his father's house, and grew so bold and free, as very ordinarily to come in whilst company was in the house, and Mr. Franklin in the room, and sit down by the boy. At due years, about the year 1661 or 1662, he was bound an apprentice to a barber in Cambridge (or at least as a probationer). One night the spirit appeared to him in the usual habit of a gentlewoman, and would have persuaded him go home again, asking him what he did there? &c. The boy, after some treaty, replied he would not go. Upon which he received a great blow on the ear, and grew very ill; and continuing so, his master presently took horse, and rid to acquaint his father. In the forenoon of that day, the boy sitting by the kitchen fire, his mistress being by, suddenly cries out, Oh mistress, look, there's the gentlewoman! The woman turns to look, sees nothing: but while her head was turned, hears a noise as of a great box on the ear; then turns again, and sees the boy bending down his neck; and he presently died. About the same hour, so near as they could guess, while the master was sitting at dinner in the Isle of Ely with the father, the appearance of a gentlewoman comes in, looking angrily; and taking a turn or two, disappeared. Attested by Mr. Baxter, Mr. Cooper, and Mr. Franklin himself.—*Historical Discourses of Apparitions and Witches*, p. 64."

³ Of Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Patrik, see the notice vol. i. p. 336.

in his power. I count myself very happy in his acquaintance, and must profess always my obliging respects to Dr. Whichcote, who made up the match between us. As soon as I can find the character of the Prince of Gotha (for it is mislaid amongst a number of papers) it shall be imparted unto you. I pray you enquire diligently about Sebaldu Schnellius against Abarbanel. I would willingly pleasure worthy Mr. Patrick with it or anything else that might do him service. The lesser prophets of Petræus are, as I take it, in the Ethiopian language. I wonder you cannot hear of Valesius's edition of Eusebius. If Petræus call upon me (or upon any other occasions) I shall not fail, God willing, to enquire whether Josephus be in the press or not at Leyden. It is likely they are acquainted with Cocceius, Nisselius, and Elzevir; but to look into my catalogue of books printed in Holland is no more in my power, the wretched man (where all my books stood) having suffered (with a world of other MSS.)¹ distraction or embezzlement, so that I cannot as yet tell what is remaining or not, the catalogues themselves being lost or made away. This is one of the greatest and sorest evils which hath befallen my tormented and afflicted condition for so many years. This day a gentleman of Gotha was with me who has the receipt of a perfect and never failing cure of a purely tertian ague, which I do not despair to obtain hereafter. But if it had been of a quartan ague, I should have waived all formal civilities to do service to worthy Dr. Whichcote. Mr. Smith's departure is truly to be lamented, being so fit a keeper of the public library, for there are few of that ability. I have cause to wish with you that Mr. Barrow would publish his great and long travels, as well as Mr. Wray his shorter ones. Mr. Comenius himself hath written of the translation of his *Janua* into the Turkish language. I hope the quarrel is ended

¹ Hartlib was particularly unfortunate in this respect. A fire afterwards occurred, as he mentions in a subsequent letter, from which his papers and MSS. received great damage. Had the whole of his MS. Collections and Correspondence been preserved entire, they would have formed an admirable foundation for the Literary and Philosophical History of England in the middle of the seventeenth century.

between him and the Irenical antagonist. There are two or three books of his which should have been sent to you also but that the number of them came short. He is fully resolved for the future to undertake no other treatises but only the pansophical work and the P. M.¹ I am very glad to hear that Dr. More's volume goes on apace at the press. I wish you could write the like of Dr. Cudworth. My health is still very hazardous, and more tormenting than before; but I have great cause to conclude that it is in order to a perfect cure. The stone is like a bull enraged, that will not fall with one blow. But strong is the Lord God Almighty even in this case to save his poor servants that trust in him alone. His name be blessed for ever. At Amsterdam there hath been public thanksgiving in the churches for so wonderful a cure of the tormented man that hath been forced to keep his bed above six years, and hath been strangely tormented above these thirteen years. Your Sylva Sylvarum is very well advised; but I intimated before what a wretched fate is befallen all my best papers, which I thought were most safe. The better Concordance is a very grateful advertisement. I long for a fuller relation of the boy that died at Cambridge. Mr. Patrick takes it for granted that I have heard more fully of it. Mr. Brer.[eton] hath been returned these six days. He went to see Dr. Whichcote, and is, no less than myself,

Your most humble servt.,

Nov. 2, 1661.

S.[amuel] H.[artlib.]

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 296.

Yours of Nov. 2 I received Nov. 10. There are but one or two particulars which require an answer; both I suppose for Mr. Patrick's satisfaction.

For the first: Upon enquiry I cannot meet with Sebaldu

¹ Philosophiæ Methodus.

Schnellius against Abarbanel. I know nobody that ever saw it except Dr. Cudworth, who does but think that he saw it some years since; and if that be the book he thinks he saw, he thought then there was nothing extraordinary in it.

The other particular is about the barber's boy, to whom the spectre is said to have appeared, but as yet I have no such perfect account of it as is fit to be communicated. Some have thoughts of going over to the boy's father and to make a more diligent enquiry into all particulars. Till that be done, the story will be very imperfect and unfit to make any judgment upon. The boy's father was expected at Cambridge, but he came not.

With your letter I received a paper containing something from Dr. Tongue about tapping of trees.¹ This is that Tongue, I suppose, who spake to you about great things he had prepared upon the Apocalypse; but I do not think they were perfected, for then you would have written of them. I have seen none since Mr. Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica*,² that hath brought forth to the world what hath been much observable, but what has been lighted at his flame.

¹ Inserted in Philosophical Transactions, ann. 1670, num. 57, &c.

² Which, as Worthington observes (Preface to Mede's works) "was his *First-born*, his *might* and the *excellency* of his *strength*, as Jacob spake of his First-born," and "for the which" (Miscellanies, p. 56) "he deserves the name the Egyptians gave to Joseph the Israelite, Zaphnath Paaneah, i.e. *χρυκτῶν ἐπέτης*, as Josephus interprets it, and to the same sense both Onkelos and Jonathan the Chaldee Paraphrasts." Of his noble discovery of the synchronisms, Worthington remarks (Preface to Mede's works): "The glory of first discovering these is particularly due to Mr. Mede, and upon this score shall the present and succeeding ages owe a great respect and veneration to his memory," and afterwards "I shall not need to show how necessary it is for those that go down to this Prophetic Sea to steer by the guidance of these synchronisms, that lightsome Pharos, and indeed the only Cynosura to direct those that are upon this great deep." Worthington's judgment, which is a very sound one with respect to several of the commentators on the Apocalypse, may be found on reference to his "Miscellanies;" but, as there is no index to that work, it may save trouble to observe that he notices Hugh Broughton (pp. 34, 37, 146, 193), Brightman (9, 120), Archer (119), Dr. Homes (85, 121), Alstedius (85, 121, 195), Cornelius a Lapide (193), Dr. Henry More (73, 85), and Grotius and Hammond, whom he styles "the famous Duumviri, leaders in the new way of interpreting the Apocalypse" (32, 33, and passim).

If Mr. Wall be come to town and see you, will you remember what was written about Leo Modena of the Temple of Jerusalem? It is, I think, a stitched book in quarto. I am sorry for your losses in the paper treasures you committed to such as ought to have been more regardful of such a depositum. The more need have you to secure what remains, lest a like fate should befall them. And out of these (if the other cannot be retrieved) you might make perhaps a worthy Collection of Memorable Things. Such a *Silva Silvarum*, if you had thought on, would have been as much to the public good, and have rendered you as considerable, as any other performance that I can think of. Heretofore I wrote about Dr. More's letters to you (some whereof were large); you said you could have them in readiness if there were to be any use made of them; I wish the former sad fate hath not befallen them. You must do as those in a shipwreck, that are busy to regain as much as they can of what was lost, and do more thankfully enjoy what is left.

Dr. Whichcote's ague (as he writes to me) continues to afflict him sorely. That receipt you speak of for a tertian ague may be a very charitable and gainful discovery if procured.

I perceive by the news book that Ludolph's¹ *Lexicon Æthiopi-*

¹ "Jacobi Ludolphi J. O. et Ducis Saxonie Consilarii *Lexicon Æthiopico-Latinum* ex omnibus libris impressis nonnullisque MSS. collectum et cum docto quodam Æthiope relectum, cum indice Latino, Appendice et Syllabo vocum Harmonicarum quæ in lingua Æthiopica cum aliis conveniunt. 2. *Grammatica Æthiopica* omnium quæ hæcenus extant, maxime completa. 3. *Confessio fidei Claudii Regis Æthiopie*, Regio cuidam præfecto Portugallensi missa, Latine versa et notis aucta. 4. *Liturgia S. Dioscori Patriarchæ Alexandrini* Lat. et Æthiopice J. M. Wanslebio addita. A work very useful, both to the late Polyglot Bibles and the great *Lexicon* now in hand, and for all those that desire to attain knowledge in the Oriental languages, with which it hath an affinity. Printed by Thomas Roycroft, and sold at the printing-house in the Charter-house Yard, London." *Mercurius Publicus* November 7th, 1661. Ludolf complains much of the want of care on the part of Wansleb in superintending the printing of this important work. A second and much improved edition of the Dictionary appeared at Frankfort in 1698, and of the Grammar in 1702.— See Ludolf, noticed vol. i. p. 187.

cum is printed and extant. I wish them good success at the press about the other volume of the lexicon, and that Dr. Castell may have a better gale to carry him to the desired port.

I do not desire you to trouble yourself about sending those two or three new pieces of Comenius to me ; I desire only to know the names of those books and of what they treat.

I have now no more to add ; but commending you to the care and love of the Father of Mercies, I rest

Yours,

Nov. 14, 1661.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Honoured Sir,

Your last is dated 14th. Yesterday Mr. Patrick sent me a large account concerning some illustrious providences, which I may impart unto you by carrier as soon as my amanuensis, who is fallen dead sick, is recovered. I thank you for the advertisement of Sebaldu Schnellius, which I shall send shortly to Mr. Patrick. An exact narrative about the barber's boy will be very welcome whenever it can be sent. I did not send my paper so much for lopping of trees as for Mr. Beal's mnemonical undertakings, of which he hath written another essay. Dr. Tongue is at Dunkirk, as I take it, a very stirring and laborious man.¹ He is very like to publish his Apocalyptical notions in print when better perfected. He lives with one of the Harlowes at Dunkirk. The Revelation Book translated out of High Dutch hath almost nothing but what worthy Mr. Mede hath published. Mr. Wall hath not yet been in town for ought I know. I shall not fail, God willing, to put him in mind concerning Leo Modena whenever I see him. As much as my health will permit I shall never forget a collection of memo-

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to, p. 13.

¹ A "stirring and laborious man" certainly, as the short sketch of his career, vol. i. p. 196-7, will abundantly manifest.

rable things out of my remaining letters. I suppose you have forgotten that long ago I have returned all Dr. More's Cartesian letters and his answers unto them. I wonder that none out of Germany writes anything concerning the Princess Elizabeth. Dr. Whichcote's is more my affliction than I will write. If I can procure the receipt for a tertian ague it would be truly a very charitable and gainful discovery. But the author comes seldom at me. If I get it at any time it shall be yours. I received lately a letter from Ireland from Mr. Robert Wood,¹ another cordial friend of mine. He writes from Dublin October 30, 1661, as followeth:—"I fell sick again of another fever this autumn, which though not so violent and acute as that I laboured under last year, yet it kept me prisoner in my chamber and weak as long as the former, which happened I think chiefly by reason of a relapse I had in being a little over venturous. But now I praise God I am in as good health again as ever, except only a little more tender, which makes me subject to colds, &c. I should be glad to hear of your health, at least of the mitigation of your pains." Thus far honest Mr. Wood. The

¹ Robert Wood was born at Pepper Harrow, near Godalming, in Surrey, circ. 1622, and, after figuring in various capacities during a life of change, died at Dublin in 1685. He was educated at Oxford, became President of St. John's, went into Ireland, and was sent by Henry Cromwell as his spy into Scotland, returned to England, was one of the first Fellows of the College at Durham founded by Oliver Cromwell in 1657, and a Member of the Rota Club. On the Restoration, like Marchmont Needham, he took up the profession of physic, and it seems probable that of law too, in Ireland, and becoming an out-and-out Loyalist was appointed Chancellor of two Dioceses, of which Meath was one. He then settled for a time in England, and became teacher to the Blue Coat children in Christ Church Hospital, in London, in mathematics and navigation. He afterwards returned to Ireland, and was made Accountant General to the Commissioners of Revenue there. He seems to have had the reputation of considerable mathematical skill and to have been one of the large crop of ingenious adventurers of whom Sir William Petty is the type, who, with elastic consciences and a constant eye to the main chance, contrived to feather their nests in those eventful times. Anthony Wood, who did not approve of such harlequin transformations as "honest" Robert Wood exhibited, says sourly of him: "He was a covetous person." (*Athenæ*, vol. iv. p. 167.) He seems only to have published "The Times Mended, or a Rectified Account of Time by a new Luni-solar Year," Lond. 1681, folio.

names of those new Comenian books, which you shall have as soon as I get any copies, are these following :— (1.) Joh. Amos Comenii de Iterato Sociniano Irenico, Iterata ad Christianos Admonitio, seu Pseudo Irenici, veri autem Christo-Mastigis, Danielis Zwickeri superbus de Christo Æternitatis Throno dejecto Triumphus, virtute Dei dissipatus, &c. Amstel. 1661, pp. 212 in 8vo.¹ (2.) Socinismi Speculum uno intuitu quicquid ibi creditur aut non creditur exhibens, ex ipsorummet propriâ confessione concinnatum a Joh. Amos Comenio. Amst. 1661, 8vo.² (3.) Oculus Fidei, Theologia Naturalis, sive Liber Creaturarum, specialiter de homine et naturâ ejus, in quantum homo est, et de his quæ illi necessaria sunt ad cognoscendum Deum et Seipsum, omniaq, quibus Deo, proximo sibi obligatur ad salutem, a Raymundo de Sabunde, ante duo sæcula conscriptus, nunc autem Latiniore stylo in compendium redactus, et in subsidium incredulitati Atheorum, Epicureorum, Judæorum, Turcarum, aliorumq, Infidelium, nominatim Socinianorum et aliorum Christianorum Mystera Fidei suæ non attendentium, a Johanne A. Comenio oblati. Amsterodami 1661, in 8vo, pp. 381.³ I am ever,

Honoured Sir,

Yours faithfully, &c.,

S.[amuel] H.[artlib.]

Nov. 19, 1661.

¹ One of the tracts in Comenius's controversy with Zwicker. See vol. i. p. 292. Like all Comenius's works, it is worth reading. His indefatigable adversary, who is the perfect model of an agile controversialist, had attacked him as a magniloquent Thraso, on account of his Pansophical promises. Comenius rejoins by printing a laudatory and very sensible letter from Marinus Mersennus, and winds up his testimonials with an eulogium from the "Illustrissimus Posnaniensis Palatinus, D. Chr. de Bnin Opalinskj." (Ast quale nomen!) Against such an authority what could Zwicker allege? Comenius's address to his opponent might be made by many a controversialist in many a controversy: "Zwickere, ponitet me stereooreum hoc tecum certamen ingressum, in quo *Vinco seu Vincor, semper ego maculor*," p. 85.

² A tract in 86 pages, 12mo, being a sort of compendium of the Racovian Catechism, with a refutation by Comenius.

³ This modernization of Raymond de Sebonde is noticed in vol. i. p. 272.

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 301.

Yours of November 29 I received, together with a paper of Mr. Beal's mnemonical design. Dr. More's letters to Descartes came safe to Christ College (and they will be published) but I meant Dr. More's letters written to you, which heretofore you wrote that you could upon occasion find out. I thank you for the titles of the three Comenian books; they are not known at Cambridge. That of Raymundus de Sabunde in a new Latin dress I least set by, for I have the old one; and for the other two, I do not desire to put you to any trouble about them except you should have some store of copies sent you.

Here is lately brought to me a brief in the behalf of John de Kraino Krainsky, who comes as Deputy of the Protestant churches in Lithuania, to solicit for their relief, and for means to carry on the printing of the Bible in their language, one half of it being dispatched, but by their sufferings they are disabled from going through with the work. Do you know this agent, John de Kraino Krainsky? What is become of Boguslaus Chylinski,¹ who had a collection in both Universities and elsewhere for the like purpose?

How does the design of the Royal Herring-Buss-Fishing² pro-

¹ For an account of this learned Pole, see vol. i. p. 180.

² One of the numerous projects which were formed at this time to rival the Dutch in their herring fishery. "The false estimates that were long current of the extent and value of the Dutch herring fishery appear to have generated, on this side the Channel, the most exaggerated ideas of the importance of the business. 'It has given the Dutch,' said Andrew Yarranton in 1681, 'their mighty numbers of seamen, their vast fleets of ships, and a foundation for all their other trades.' (England's Improvement, 2nd part, p. 129.) And it is affirmed in a statement said (though, perhaps, on no good grounds) to have been drawn up by Sir Walter Raleigh, for the information of James I., in 1618, that 3,000 Dutch vessels, having on board 50,000 men and boys, were then employed in the herring fishery on the coasts of Great Britain, and that no fewer than 9,000 additional vessels and 150,000 'persons more are employed by sea and land, to make provision to dress and transport the fish they take, and return commodities, whereby they are enabled and do build yearly 1,000 ships and vessels, &c.' (Raleigh's works, by Birch, i. 130.) The gross exaggeration of this statement,

ceed, for which we had a collection in these parts? If pursued closely and effectually, it may employ many of the numerous swarm of poor.

The Lithuanian translation minds me of what you sometime wrote of the Armenian translation printing in Amsterdam.¹ When

both as respects the number of vessels and the number of hands employed, is obvious. At the period referred to, the entire population of the United Provinces did not certainly exceed 2,400,000 persons, of which fully a half may be set apart as being, from age, youth, &c., unfit for active pursuits; and to suppose that a sixth part, or 200,000 persons, of the remaining portion of the population, including females, should have been engaged in the herring fishery and the employments immediately connected therewith, is so very absurd, that one is astonished it should have been believed for a moment. Most probably, indeed, it never would have obtained much currency, but for the circumstance of its having been introduced by M. Delacourt into his 'Memoirs of John de Witt' (p. 24, Eng. trans.), which, having been erroneously ascribed to that statesman (see chapter on Miscellaneous Works), acquired an influence and authority to which they were not really entitled. But, though vastly exaggerated, the Dutch herring fishery far exceeded that of any other country; and for this superiority the Hollanders were indebted to the skill which they had early acquired in the business; to the economy with which all their operations were conducted, which made Andrew Yarranton say that 'we fish intolerably dear and the Dutch exceeding cheap' (*ubi supra*, p. 131); and to the easy access afforded by the great rivers that traverse their country to the interior of Europe, where the herrings were principally disposed of. The English had no similar advantages on their side; and the use of fish has never been popular among the bulk of our people. Hence, though pamphlet after pamphlet was written, holding out the example of the Dutch, and calling upon the public to patronize the fishery as the surest means of increasing the national wealth; though company after company was formed for its encouragement; and though immense sums were lavished upon bounties for its encouragement, which at one time rose to the all but incredible amount of £159 7s. 6d. per barrel of merchantable fish (*Wealth of Nations*, p. 281), the fishery made no real progress. It merely dragged out a sickly, miserable existence; and it is only in our own times, and since it was left to depend on its own resources, that it has become of importance." — M'Culloch's *Literature of Political Economy*, 1845, 8vo, pp. 281-2.

¹ Which finally appeared under the title of "*Biblia Armena juxta versionem LXX. Interpretum, jussu Jacobi Characteri Armenorum Proto-Patriarchæ adornata et edita studio Oskan Wartabied (id. est) Episcopo Yuschuaran in Armenia de Dominatione Persiæ, juvante Salomone de Leon, ejus Diacono.*" Amstelodami. *Æra Armenorum* 1115, Christi 1666, 4to. The Armenian version was probably made by Miesrob about the year 413 from the Septuagint, but the Greek text, from which we must suppose it to have been made, does not agree altogether with any one of our recensions. Some

you first heard of it, it could not but beget in you a desire to know the issue of it, and in your letters to Amsterdam upon other occasions this so desirable a business could not but take a part. The best sollicitudes are those that concern the most important good of man; so that our thirst after the good of men in any part of the world will engage to such enquiry, there being few things more worthy of our notice-taking.

In some former letters you desired me to give you a catalogue of the renowned Spenser's works unpublished.¹ I made the best enquiry to find the intimations of them, which lay scattered at great distances in the epistles, prefaces, or notes of his works. I think about fourteen I recounted to you. And you told me you had written into Ireland, where his last being was. I suppose by your silence that you could never get any satisfactory answer. There are but few indeed that mind anything but what is in the road to profit. You could not but have been desirous to know the issue of that paper message, and to see your dove return with an olive leaf, or a laurel leaf, which hath a peculiar respect to poets.

I hope Mercator² hath restored to you Venus in Sole Visa. I have no copy of it; you had both the author's drafts. In two or three years' time so small a tract might have been written out by him, and it might have been published by this time had he not detained it in his hands.

The large account you mention that you received from Mr. Patrick I do the more value and presume to be considerable because it comes from him. I am glad that you are making the best improvement of your remaining papers, in selecting such as are most memorable and digesting them into some general heads. Quod felix faustumque sit.

critics are of opinion that the Armenian version was interpolated in the sixth century from the Syriac, and in the thirteenth from the Latin Vulgate. It is, remarks Dr. A. Clarke (Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 279), much esteemed among the critics.

¹ See vol. i. p. 281.

² Mercator and Horrox's, or Horrox's, Venus in Sole Visa is noticed vol. i. pp. 180-1.

There is lately come to settle in London one Mr. Spearing,¹ B.D., Fellow of Queen's College, a worthy person, well known to Mr. Patrick. Dr. Reeves,² now Dean of Windsor (being his kinsman) upon his resignation of the Three-Cranes Church in Thames street, recommended Mr. Spearing to the patron, the Bishop of Worcester,³ who hath bestowed it upon him.

I have lately seen the new edition of Eusebius by Valesius; it is a fair book. I wish I could see Josephus in the like happy cir-

¹ This was James Speering, or Spearing, who held another living in Essex, and died in 1672. — Kennet's Register, p. 570.

² Dr. Bruno Ryves, who is now principally remembered as the author or editor of the "*Mercurius Rusticus*," in which the misdeeds of the Presbyterians and Republicans, and the sufferings of the clergy at the time of the Grand Rebellion, are very particularly chronicled. It was originally published as a newspaper, and afterwards the *Mercuries* were reprinted in one volume, of which several editions have appeared. It seems to have formed a sort of groundwork for Walker's "*Sufferings of the Clergy*." Ryves was himself a great sufferer under Presbyterian rule, and as a reward for his loyalty and recompense for his losses had the deanery of Windsor conferred on him at the Restoration. He died in 1677 at the advanced age of 81, and was buried in the chapel of St. George, at Windsor.

³ Dr. George Morley, who had been promoted to the bishopric of Worcester shortly before. Morley is too well known as the adopted son of Ben Jonson, the friend of Falkland, Chillingworth and Waller, as the divine who accompanied the brave Lord Capel to the scaffold, as the loved and trusted confidant of Hyde, and as a munificent benefactor to the Church of which he was an ornament, to render it necessary to give any extended notice of him here. The great historical painter has not forgotten him in that delightful part of his own memoir in which he sketches so vividly the friends and companions of his earlier years. In 1662, upon the death of Dr. Duppa, Morley was translated to the bishopric of Winchester. He died in 1684, having attained to a good old age. He had a controversy with Baxter, who, excellent man that he was, (and who can deny his surpassing merits?) could only live in that atmosphere. The Bishop must have smiled to see Baxter's second on that occasion, Edward Bagshaw, who had warmly defended him, plunging shortly after into a still fiercer controversy with his friend. Bagshaw began with attacking the tremendous Busby, and he who had had the hardihood to meet such a man in full career could not be expected to spare either Bishop or Presbyterian. Still in all his pamphlets, and Anthony Wood has only reckoned half of them (the editor believes he has the whole), he exhibits a purity of style which at that time was very rare, and which was evidently formed upon an intimate acquaintance with the best classical models. He deserves, and his singular career would impart great interest to, a fuller biography than has yet been given to him.

cumstances, or the long expected Hesychius. But I can only wish; it is in the power of others to do more if they were not heart-bound and mere self-lovers and self-seekers.

These are all the particulars which come now into my mind; to which I shall add no more but that in all reality I am

Yours affectionately,

Dec. 2, 1661.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Worthy Sir,

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to p. 13.

I had lately a letter of 27 Nov. from Mr. Comenius, wherein he writes as followeth: — "O Deus, Deus, in quæ nos tempora reservati! Jussit orare Christus ne fuga nostra fieret hyeme. Isti vero persecutores nostri datâ operâ hoc agere videntur, ut fuga nostrorum in hyemem incidat, ubi montibus et nivibus circumclusi, quo se vertant nescii,¹ ad apostasiam facilius propellantur.

¹ This lamentation of Comenius on the sufferings of the unhappy Bohemians, assailed on all sides, reminds us of the fine lines in which James Montgomery pictures the pastor leading out the remnant of United Brethren from the land of their sires:

"—When poor Comenius, with his little flock,
Escaped the wolves, and from the boundary rock,
Cast o'er Moravian hills a look of woe,
Saw the green vales expand, the waters flow,
And happier years revolving in his mind,
Caught every sound that murmur'd on the wind;
As if his eye could never thence depart,
As if his ear were seated in his heart,
And his full soul would thence a passage break,
To leave the body, for his country's sake;
While on his knees he pour'd the fervent prayer,
That God would make that martyr-land his care,
And nourish in its ravaged soil a root
Of Gregor's Tree, to bear perennial fruit.

His prayer was heard: — that Church, through ages past,
Assail'd and rent by persecution's blast;

Valde illorum causâ sollicitus sum, dum Cæsareanis Provinciis ita circumdatos video, ut sub alicujus Protestantis Principis protectionem sese dare nimis longinquum sit, nec forte per insidiatores et viarum obsessores licebit. Deus misereatur, viamq, per invia ostendat, ne quis ei confessus reperiatur confusus. Amen." You see the very sad condition of those Protestants. Of the last collection which was made for those Bohemian Protestants in England, there were left yet £900 in the hands of the treasurers undisposed, which should have been made over unto them by the trustees for that purpose. But they have been forbidden to meddle further with those moneys with a promise that the whole sum should be made over by his majesty's order. The business

Whose sons no yoke could crush, no burthen tire,
Unawed by dungeons, tortures, sword, and fire,
(Less proof against the world's alluring wiles,
Whose frowns have weaker terrors than its smiles ;)
—That Church o'erthrown, dispersed, unpeopled, dead,
Oft from the dust of ruin raised her head,
And rallying round her feet, as from their graves,
Her exiled orphans hid in forest-caves ;
Where, midst the fastnesses of rocks and glens,
Banded like robbers, stealing from their dens,
By night they met, their holiest vows to pay,
As if their deeds were dark, and shunn'd the day ;
While Christ's revilers, in his seamless robe,
And parted garments, flaunted round the globe ;
From east to west while priestcraft's banners flew,
And harness'd kings his iron chariot drew :
—That Church advanced, triumphant, o'er the ground,
Where all her conquering martyrs had been crown'd,
Fearless her foe's whole malice to defy,
And worship God in liberty, — or die :
For truth and conscience oft she pour'd her blood,
And firmest in the fiercest conflicts stood,
Wresting from bigotry the proud controul
Claim'd o'er the sacred empire of the soul,
Where God, the judge of all, should fill the throne,
And reign, as in his universe, alone."

(Montgomery's *Greenland*, edit. 1850, p. 73-4.)

lies with my Lord C.[larendon], but it is so much delayed that last week I received another petition with a letter to the Earl of Anglesea, who is my very special good lord. I have made application to him about it. When it is done, I shall not fail, God willing, to give you notice of it. Mr. Dury writes from Frankfort as followeth: — “As for my affairs, they are in a hopeful way of progress.¹ For the Elector of Brandenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse are fallen upon a way to engage the Lutheran Princes to concur in the work, and I with the advice of the Divines of Cleve am fallen upon another way to deal with the Lutheran Divines. They have signed the Councils whereupon we are agreed, and give me authority in their name to propose them unto others, which I am preparing to do, but before I begin I intend to take advice also at Cassel. The Princes will deal with the Princes of the Lutheran party, and those with their Universities, to bring them to some amicable conference, according to the example given this year at Cassel² between the Divines at Rintelen and Marburg. And I suppose my way of dealing will be with the Divines who are not subordinate unto the Universities, but depend upon inferior magistrates, as in the free cities and countries, who have Superintendents, that with the permission of their superiors I may deal with them and oblige them to declare their sense of that which I (God willing) shall propose unto them; whereof the particulars in due time may be imparted unto you if God continue your life and put you in a state able to make use thereof for a public good.³ I would be

¹ Happy was it for Dury that to his sanguine temper his great work of pacification seemed always in a hopeful way of progress. The star he followed ever shone brightly to his sight, though to all other eyes the horizon seemed as dark as Erebus.

² A relation of this conference is given in Dury's *Irenicorum Tractatum Prodomus*. Amst. 1662, 12mo, pp. 520–534.

³ Whatever may be thought of his knowledge of the world, or the judgment with which his plans of comprehension and pacification were constructed, or his talent for dealing with the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, it is impossible not to admire Dury's irrepressible ardour and determined perseverance in pursuit of his holy object. Nothing could baffle or dispirit him. From country to country he passed on his noble-minded mission, and the failure of one day was forgotten in the expectations

glad to hear that matters were well settled in England, and that your health and other allowances were restored unto you, which I beseech the Lord to grant in due time, when it shall be most for your comfort and his glory. To his fatherly care and mercies I commend you." The letter is dated Nov. 1st, 1661. Thus I rest,

Worthy Sir,

Your faithful, &c.,

Dec. 3, 1661.

S.[amuel] H.[artlib.] .

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Sir,

Last week I received from you no letter at all; but I Baker's Camb. MSS. as referred to p. 13. had a letter again from Mr. Comenius in these words: — "Quid agitur, obsecro? Quid vivis? Quid vales? Solusne tuus vesicæ calculus tam pertinaciter obsidet, ut ne quidem illi medicinæ quâ hîc (Amstelodami) miracula patrari dicuntur, cedat! Quæ hæc inveterati mali vis? De te, deq, collectâ nostrâ lætiora audire gestimus, augescentibus apud nos malis. In Poloniâ denuo persecutiones recrudescent. Deus miserere! et fac ut Rex quoq, Angliæ nostri misereatur. Ecquid autem spei! vel saltem, per illam viam quam ostendisti, Dominum Comitem de Anglesey? Veneruntne recte ad illum datæ? una cum novo ad Regiam Majestatem supplice Libello? Quæso doce, et aliquo bono recrea

of the next. There was not a prince in Europe who could aid him in his object that he omitted to see; there was not a theologian of eminence from Hall and Davenant to Hottinger and Spanheim, whose assistance he did not endeavour to secure. One is glad to find that, after undergoing toils and troubles innumerable, the kind-hearted Landgrave of Hesse provided a secure retreat for him at Cassel in his advanced old age, and that, notwithstanding all his disasters and that he had utterly failed in his endeavours to unite any differing sections of Protestants, the good man's last thoughts were fixed on a still more magnificent scheme of bringing together into one fold all denominations of Christians, by propounding to them, what he thought certain to accomplish the object, his own new exposition of the Apocalypse!

nuntio. Amen. E Borussiâ de Moscorum clade¹ mira adferuntur : misera gens, Moscovitæ, ad plagas nati, nil nisi plagas accipere assueti ad incitas rediguntur. Gens ignavissima, stupidissima, sed ita sunt judicia nunc Dei ; [ejus] est terere regna regnis, et populos populis, ut noster denuo quædam submittens mirari continuat Drabicius, quem Deus in faucibus hostium illæsum conservat mirabiliter. Turcicum bellum recrudescet anno vertente, minatur enim ob fractam pacem, binoq. exercitu in se ac terras suas factum impetum. Nisi Persa impediverit redibit cum furore. Nunc in Transylvaniâ res suas stabilivit, introducto (ac recepto) Principe novo Michaelæ Abaffi, paupere quidem Nobili, sed ex antiquâ stirpe et prudente (ut scribunt) annorum triginta et aliquot. Remisit eis Turca quinquennale tributum, tantundem otium promisit, si constantes fuerint. Kemeiri Janush ejectus, a suis desertus, fugit ad Ragocium Juniorem Patakum usq. Cæsareanus² exercitus mire adtritrus (fame, peste, nuditate) redit. Ah ! quantos gentium motus ! Orandum est, ut qui orbi præsidet, ita turbines ejus temperet, ut saluti cedant Ecclesiæ." The letter is dated Dec. 2, 1661.

From Paris they write 22 Nov. as followeth : — "The Jansenists run great danger of being ruined in this kingdom of France, the

¹ "The great victory obtained by the Polish army against the Muscovites is daily confirmed and enlarged, it being said that the rest of the Muscovites, who thought to save themselves by flight, were met by a party of Tartars, who put them all to the sword. The Confederate army in Poland continue still in their rebellion.—Dantzick." "Our army hath taken from the enemy above four hundred colours in the late encounter, and hath slain a great number of Muscovites.—Keydon in Lithuania." — Mercurius Publicus of the 12th Dec., 1661.

² "Vienna, 16th Nov. Letters from Transylvania to his Imperial Majesty import that the Lord Field-Marshal Montecuculi, for want of provision and by reason of a number of sick men, hath been forced to retire with his whole army for Tockhay. The Turks, by the means of some treacherous boors, have found a passage into the province of the Seckliers, by whom, by a sudden and unexpected surprisal, they were forced to submit and acknowledge the new Prince Abassi, with whom Ali Bashaw hath left part of his army, and himself is gone with the rest to Temeswar and Greek Weistenburgh into their winter quarters." — Mercurius Publicus of Dec. 5th, 1661.

Pope¹ having sent a Bull obliging them to sign a Formal that is altogether contrary to them. Many of them are resolved to quit all and to depart their country rather than subscribe." Thus the letter. Just now I received your last of Dec. 2. I have more of Mr. Beal's Mnemonical design, but must not overburden you. He is Minister at Yeovil in Somersetshire, and a most active soul. I know very few like him in the whole kingdom. "If my business (saith he in his last of Nov. 30) had given me any leisure, I had given some satisfaction to you. Three funeral sermons I preached this week, on Tuesday, Thursday, and this day. And now I prepare for the great and more than ordinary business of the Lord's day to-morrow." And in another letter thus:—"From your last I have a double trouble, at the loss of your precious papers, lest they should fall into the hands of malice and calumny. For that reason we lost the labours not only of Mr. Hales,² who abhorred the perils of scribbling, but others the ablest that ever were born. For it is an impregnable dilemma, that it is no better than actum agere to write what others do write or know or believe. And it is a bold kind of madness to write that which others do not believe. It hath oftentimes tempted me to set fire to a whole ton of papers (for I am become as voluminous as Tostatus,³ sometimes

¹ Pope Alexander VII. had declared, by a solemn bull issued in 1656, that the five propositions which had been condemned were the tenets of Jansenius, and were contained in his book. The pontiff was now following up his bull by requiring a declaration to be subscribed by all those who aspired to any preferment in the Church, in which it was affirmed that the five propositions were to be found in the book of Jansenius in the same sense in which they had been condemned by the Church.

² For a notice of the ever memorable John Hales, see vol. i. p. 185. Bishop Pearson, in the preface to his "Remains," remarks: "While he lived, none was ever more solicited and urged to write, and thereby truly to teach the world, than he; none ever so resolved, pardon the expression, so obstinate against it. His facile and courteous nature learnt only not to yield to that solicitation;" and Farindon observes in his letter which follows: "I have drawn in my mind the model of his life, but I am like Mr. Hales in this, which was one of his defects, not to pen anything till I must needs."—Remains, 1688, 8vo.

³ Alphonsus Tostatus, the Spaniard, the prodigy of human diligence, who read

almost a quire in a day) or if I do reserve my scribblings, it shall be for a following age." Dated Nov. 14, 1661. I cannot tell whether I shall find Dr. More's letters¹ written to me or not, but if he hath a mind to publish any of them, when God gives me any lucida intervalla, I will look for them. The receipt for a tertian ague is not now in my power, the gentleman (one Colhaus) retiring himself into the country till he hath learnt English. Hereafter, God willing, I may obtain both it and some other observations about Vasa Chylifera, which Dr. Bartholinus² of Denmark doth

everything and never forgot anything that he had read, — who, occupied in incessant public duties, which of themselves would seem sufficient to engross his entire attention, yet found time, dying at the age of 40, to leave behind him writings which now fill twenty-seven folios, and would have filled as many more, if a large portion had not been lost at sea. His well-known epitaph,

"Hic stupor est mundi qui scibile discutit omne,"

is only a literal truth. Nor let it be supposed that his folios are a dry and sterile expanse, without a refreshing spring to cheer the wearied traveller. The present writer has frequently consulted them, and never without admiring the knowledge of antiquity, the sound theological views on many points on which he was clearly in advance of his age, and the vast variety of illustration which they display. In his works a vigorous and perspicacious intellect shines upon us through all the rude inelegance of his style. No one appreciated him more highly than Isaac Casaubon, always a fair critic, and whose suffrage is never given without sufficient grounds. "*Tostati acumen placet: viri, si in meliora sæcula incidisset, longe maxime.*" — (*Exercit. in Baronium*, p. 25.) After such an attestation, little attention needs to be paid to the unfavourable judgment of Walchius (*Bib. Theol.* vol. iv. p. 449), which would seem, like many of his criticisms, to have been founded on a very superficial knowledge of the author on whom he passes his opinion.

¹ The letters from Dr. Henry More to Hartlib have never been published, and it may be doubted whether they are now in existence.

² Thomas Bartholinus, one of the most learned and celebrated physicians of the seventeenth century. A life of him and list of his works, which have never been published in a collected form, will be found in *Niceron*, vol. vi. p. 131. He was born at Copenhagen in 1616, and died there in 1680. In addition to profound skill in his own profession, his acquirements in philology and general literature were most extensive, and his opinion on all critical questions was regarded with the highest respect by the greatest scholars of his day. He seems to have possessed much in common with a famous physician and author of our own, Sir Thomas Brown. Bartholinus had the same partiality for singular topics and novel disquisition, the same ardour of enquiry, the same range of various erudition, the same candour, good sense, and re-

very highly approve. Mr. Wood wrote me a kind and gratifying answer to two or three letters, but he says nothing of them but that he received them before his last sickness. When I write again, I shall, God willing, put him in mind of this particular. I know John Krainsky the Deputy of Lithuania hath obtained a patent for the relief of the oppressed Protestants in that great Dukedom. But by my former letter you will see what reason Mr. Comenius hath to supplicate his Majesty for the remainder of those moneys which hath been collected for the distressed Poles, Moravians, Bohemians, and Hungarians. The Lithuanian language¹ is of no great extent, which makes me wonder so much

ligious feeling, and the same marked peculiarity and mannerism of style. There are frequently veins of thought and striking traits of language in his numerous works which bring to mind, but it must be confessed without his grander and more imaginative characteristics, the solemn and original author of the "Urn burial." It is perhaps from these features, the subjects on which he writes, and the wide range he traverses, that he may still be taken up with more interest than any other medical author of his time. His treatises — *De Latere Christi*, 1646, 12mo, *De Luce Animalium*, 1647, 12mo, *De Cruce Christi*, 1651, 12mo, *De Nivis usu Medico*, 1661, 12mo, *Epistolæ Medicinales*, 1663-7, 4 vols. 12mo, *De Cometâ Consilium Medicum*, 1665, 12mo, *De Peregrinatione Medicâ*, 1674, 4to, *De Libris Legendis*, 1676, 12mo, *De Sanguine Vetito*, 1673, 12mo, *De Morbis Biblicis*, 1672, 12mo, *De Transplantatione Morborum*, 1673, 12mo, — are all, as I can testify from attentive and amply rewarded perusal, full of curious and entertaining matter, — matter to which the diction, which is quite his own, lends an additional attraction. A peculiar interest attaches to his tract, *De Bibliothecæ Incendio ad filios*, 1670, 12mo, written on the lamentable loss of his fine library of books and manuscripts by fire, and which it is impossible to read without admiring the equal temper and lofty philosophy which it displays. Every one who has sustained a similar loss, whether by the same cause or a reverse of fortune, may derive consolation from this admirable tract, which gives a most impressive picture of its excellent author; and those who are induced, by reading it, to cultivate a knowledge of his other productions, will find none of them (even the works which are written upon medical theories, now exploded) from which they may not carry away pregnant words, striking passages and illustrations, new, ingenious, and profound.

¹ This dialect has no literature except the statute or code of laws of Lithuania, published in the sixteenth century, and the official records of that country till the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was superseded by the Polish language. The Lithuanian is quite different from the Moscovite or modern Russian. It is a dialect called generally that of White Russia.

the more at the translation of it, the Polonian being the more general and ordinary language amongst them, especially of the better sort of countrymen, merchants, gentlemen, and noblemen. But not Krainsky, but one Chilinsky is the principal actor in that affair, who is lately returned into England to prosecute that business, being a professed Lithuanian. I know Krainsky, he was once with me, but I never could see him any more. Mr. Dury, while he was in England, conversed often with him. The other, Chilinsky, hath printed part of his translation, which was in a fair but small character; so much as was done in it was presented to his Majesty.

The Royal Herring-buss proceeds very well, and last Sabbath day public collections were made in all the Churches of London to carry on that design. It will, as you write, employ many of the numerous swarm of the poor.

Upon your mention again of the Armenian translation, I purpose, God willing, to write once more to have a categorical answer from Amsterdam. Mr. Comenius's son-in-law (Mr. Figulus)¹ was the prime author that wrote of it, but he is now at Dantzic, else I should have had a punctual account of that business before this time. I never received any answer out of Ireland concerning Spenser's works, but I purpose, God willing, to try once more, as I said before. Mr. Mercator being so mainly employed in the new English Encyclopedia, of which no doubt you have heard, a full body of fortification;² it will shortly be done, and then I hope I shall give you a better account of Venus in Sole, &c. I sent by carrier the large account which I had from Mr. Patrick; I hope it is in your hand before this time. If my health by God's blessing

¹ See an account of him, vol. i. p. 156.

² In the list of the works of this eminent astronomer and mathematician there does not appear to be any encyclopedia or treatise on fortification. He was now employed on his "*Hypothesis Astronomica Nova*," which was published at London in 1664, folio. His reputation at the present day rests mainly on his "*Logarithmotechnia sive Methodus construendi Logarithmos nova*," Lond. 4to, in which he struck out an improvement in the construction of logarithms.

be restored, I shall endeavour to make the best improvement of my remaining papers; but now I have no time, nor will my health serve at all for such labours. I shall write to Mr. Patrick of Mr. Spearing's coming to London, which I know he will be very glad of. I am glad you have seen the new edition of Eusebius. I have entreated Mr. Oldenburg to write effectually both into the Low Countries and into France about Josephus. Though he writes weekly, yet he can give me no account to this present. I can hear nothing more of Hesychius. I can only wish and write; but it is in the power of others, as you say, to do more. Yea, so far am I from being encouraged in my great labours for the public, that most of my friends do blame me for not minding better my privacies. But the Lord, whom I serve in all his occasions and providences, is faithful, who will not leave me nor forsake me. He can take me to himself, and leave the world to weary themselves in their many privacies. But, O my soul, enter not thou in their secrets, which is the unfeigned, continual desire of him who subscribes himself ever,

Sir,

Your very affectionate, &c.

Dec. 7, 1661.

Sam. Hartlib, Sen.

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

Yours of Dec. 3 I received, which begins with sad passages of Mr. Comenius his letter. I sympathise with their sufferings. But I fear that he and others have cause to be humbled for their too much glorying in the late King of Sweden,¹ and owing

Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 304

¹ In the first edition of "Lux in Tenebris," published in 1657, 4to, occurs a prophecy of Drabicius (p. 96), of two heroes who were to arise and perform wonders, "per hos glorificabor in nationibus Terræ et effundam super eos eorumque posteros in facie Terræ, oleum benedictionis meæ. Et murus meus igneus proteget eos ab

his invasion of Poland; being transported with his strange successes at first, which were afterwards as strangely dashed; and comparing him to Moses and Joshua, as if he had by as good authority from heaven gone on to make wars with other nations as they did. These and other considerations arising from some passages in his panegyric to Gustavus, make me think that they might have borne their sufferings with more peace if they had

hostibus. Vos autem Duo dilecti mihi eritis a latere ipsorum ut Josue et Caleb." Drabicius understands these two mighty champions of the Church, who are to be attended by success in all their efforts, to refer to the two sons of Prince Ragotski, or Racoczi, George and Sigismund. Upon which Comenius, who apparently thought that Drabicius was outstepping his province, which was to prophecy, but his to interpret, observes (p. 97), that as Sigismund was dead, which the prophet did not know (*quod ignorabat adhuc Videns*), and one of the two was in a German dress, the prophet was clearly mistaken (*palam est illum opinione sua hic fuisse falsum*). So far Comenius was safe enough. Nothing could be more certain than that a dead prince would not do for a living champion. Comenius, unfortunately for his character as an interpreter of prophecy, goes on in the most decided terms to declare Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, and George Ragotski, who were at this time (1656) allies, to be the two wonder-working agents referred to by the prophecy. Upon this hint, Drabicius, in his subsequent revelations, prophesies a glorious career for the King of Sweden (*Rex Sveciæ ibit feliciter — me illius operâ uti velle eo, quo usus sum Josue et Calebi Ezechiae et Josie ad renovandum purum cultum meum*). When all these glittering prospects had "melted into thin air" by the disasters and death of Charles Gustavus, Comenius, in the enlarged edition of *Lux in Tenebris*, published in 1665, 4to, is obliged to add to the words before quoted in reference to Drabicius ("*palam est illum opinione sua hic fuisse falsum*") "*Annon et nos, post septennium deinde? Cum Georgius Racoci Carolo Gustavo Palatino, Sveciæ Regi junxisset? Plane persuasi fuimus illos ipsos esse Josuam et Calebem electos Dei hac revelatione exhibitos. Quid ergo jam dicemus? An conditionatam fuisse promissionem vel potius expectandam adhuc veram impletionem a successoribus eorum.*" To such miserable shifts was the poor interpreter reduced. His prophet, however, has finally to bear the brunt. Comenius takes him to task, and rates him in good set terms (*scripsi ad Drabicium acriter*, p. 370). The prophet writes a lamentable letter in reply (*Rescripsit ad hæc lamentabiliter*, p. 371). Comenius is still more bitter (*ad hæc ego iterum majori etiam amaritudine*, p. 372). The prophet rejoins by such solemn appeals and assurances as seem ultimately to have satisfied his honest and well-meaning, but credulous translator and interpreter, who, by way of atonement, comes out with a new edition in a very thick volume of the *Lux in Tenebris*, in which and the continuation Drabicius's revelations are carried on to November, 1667, when they cease.

kept themselves pure from this spot. I should be glad to hear they had the relief designed for them. I wish his petition a fair acceptance. Your letter of Dec. 7 I also received, which relates the same tragical matter. God grant a gracious issue, and fit them for it. Mr. Beal's dilemma doth not hinder some from adventuring to do good to the world, though the world may not befriend its benefactors, but treat them ill for their best of charities. *Bona agere, et mala pati, regium est.* We must be so charitable as to do men good against their will, and not let them lie in the dirt, though they complain and are angry with those that would help them out. In dispensable and speculative notions it is not tanti, nor always so advisable, to engage so far as to disquiet men or to excite their passion; but to engage in such discourses as tend to clear and confirm those truths that are most essential and fundamental to the happiness of mankind, such as tend to vindicate the attributes of God and solve the phenomena of Providence, and rescue Christian religion from what hath hindered its growth and stained its native excellencies and done it so much disservice in the world — for a man publicly to engage herein is an argument of an heroic spirit, ennobled and raised above the hopes and fears of this world, and possessed with a great sense of the interest of the world to come. This is indeed the true *Instauratio Magna*, infinitely above the knowledge of external nature or unheard of curiosities. Such discourses cannot be so well spared; as for those of a lower design than this, *Minus moleste caremus.*¹

I never received the large account which you had from Mr. Patrick and you now write that you sent me. I should be loth it should miscarry; I put a value upon what comes from so considering a person.

Mr. Comenius in his letter writes strange things of the success

¹ When Worthington leaves "bearded angels" and applies his mind to what he so well understood — the weaknesses, the failings, the duties and interests of his fellow-creatures — his judgment and clear intelligence are always, as in this instance, conspicuous.

against the stone; I doubt not but you are acquainted with that which hath effected such wonders. O that I might hear that you are a new instance of its prevailing virtue, or that God affords so much ease and abatement of pain as may enable you with more alacrity to pursue your intended collection of the most memorable papers. So commending you to the care and tender mercies of God All-sufficient, I rest

Yours affectionately,

Dec. 12, 1661.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Sir,

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to, p. 13.

I had another letter from Serrarius, writing in these words: "I hope you have received more of the medicament which I sent lately by ship; or if not, I have reason to give you a caveat or proviso, because we find not the constancy of the effect which we saw at first; what the matter is I cannot yet learn, or clear it to you. So much I must tell you, that even our first man, Godefrey, whereon we saw and admired the effect, lies down again, as he protested, in as bad an estate as ever; yea worse, by reason both of the stone and of vehement and frequent pressings in the bladder. Pray salute Mr. Cohelaus (who brought the first doses of the medicament to you), and impart to him this strange relapse." In the letter of the same date, Dec. 9, Mr. Comenius adds with his own hand: "Salutabat me antequam has obsignaret, amicissimus noster Dñus Serrarius, Si quid ad te vellem. Vellem sed nihil materiæ suppetit de medicinâ dilaudatâ a te tam avide expectatâ, admitte quæso consilium, vanam spem dimitte. Excidimus magnâ expectatione circa rem illam. Deo nos permittamus totos. Ego promissa a te solatia (de bene expedito per Dm. Comitum miserrum negotio) avidissime expecto, multo vero magis tot famelici et esurientes, Deus omnium miserator misereatur omnium." Thus

far he. I have used the aforesaid medicament, but it is so pressing and tormenting that I have been forced to leave it till I hear again from Mr. Serrarius. Mr. Boyle hath promised me, if he can find the stone called Ludus¹ by Helmont, he will let Mr. Poleman have it for my sake; for he is lately fallen acquainted with an English adeptus, who hath promised that if he can procure him the aforesaid Ludus he will undertake to make of it that Oleum which Helmont praised to dissolve the stone in the body within fourteen days infallibly. There is at Amsterdam, writes a very special friend, in a letter of December 2 from Amsterdam, one Matthias Nicander, who undertakes very great and unusual mat-

¹ Hartlib's sufferings from the stone seem to have been exorciating, but it may almost be doubted whether he did not suffer more from the remedies which he was always in search of and ever ready to apply. Helmont's grand specific was an oil to be extracted from the salts produced by calcining the stone called Ludus Paracelsi, and was, in truth, borrowed from that great empiric. In Helmont's paradoxical treatise *De Lithiasi* (*Ortus Medicinæ*, 1652, 4to, p. 699), he thus refers to it, and it would be indeed a pity to use any language but his own: "Ad veram generati Dualech resolutionem liquationemque primatum obtinet Ludus Paracelsi non quod silex sit et pueri cum illo ludunt prout aliqui interpretati sunt ipsius etymon sed quia Ludus semper tali, tessera, aut cubi formâ eruitur. Cujus præparationis hæc est descriptio. Ludus optime contusus calcinatur et usque in olei formam bullitus, quod unico fere verbo vocat Fel Terræ et Altholizoi correctum. Quod sonat, *Al, tho, oli, gesotten*." It must be admitted that the name "Ludus" was anything but a misnomer, as it seems to have been a perfect *Will of the Wisp* to Boyle and his correspondents. In a letter to Clodius, Boyle says (*Works*, vol. v. p. 242): "Of the Ludus I can yet learn nothing." Hartlib writes to Boyle (*Ibid.* p. 263): "My son assures me that he will not fail to prepare the Ludus after Helmontius's way, as soon as it is possible." May 8th, 1654. Again, Hartlib to Boyle (*Ibid.* p. 297): "My son might have prepared Ludus Helmontii by this time, but he wants bowels." April, 1659, and passim. Hartlib's son-in-law, Clodius, seems to have wanted not bowels, but the stone itself, out of which the oil was to be extracted, and which his foreign correspondents were always promising to send, but which never made its appearance. Helmont says he found it "ad ripam Scaldis prope Antwerpiam ubi lateres coquantur," and that in colour it was "palescens, subinde crustâ perspicuâ per commissuras obductus." It seems however to have become, at the time of the present correspondence, a very scarce commodity, and the difficulty does not appear to have been in extracting the oil, which the adepts were perfectly ready to do, but in finding the stone. Well was it denominated Ludus Paracelsi.

ters, of which no doubt Mr. Comenius may write hereafter. Sir, having written thus far, I get a special communication from Paris, Dec. 14, in these words: "I have received notice from Castres in Languedoc, that there is an operator that cuts those that have the stone without sounding them, and quite otherwise than others, in such a manner that the patient hath not so much as a fever after it. I have been promised a copy of the certificate which containeth the manner of this operation; when it cometh to my hands it shall presently come to yours, if God permit. I pray do not forget to write to Amsterdam to enquire whether it be true that a means is found out there to cut the stones in the kidneys." Just now your last letter of Dec. 12 is brought to my house. The sufferers with Comenius are rather to be pitied than upbraided for their confident distempers. There are many more that have split themselves upon that rock. I fear this nation is more to be remarked in this kind. But God's judgments are always just, though they may be secret. Mr. Comenius's petition to his Majesty is not yet delivered. But the Earl of Anglesey is watching continually *mollia tempora fandi*.¹ Mr. Beal I hope will walk courageously for all his discouraging dilemma. He is now mainly endeavouring to do good to the world with a piece of the best of charities. He sent me back the extracts out of my letters which once I wrote unto him, concerning Morley's² Mnemonical under-

¹ Which it was difficult to meet with, where money applications were concerned, even with this most good humoured of monarchs. And all this was merely to enable the poor sufferers to obtain the charitable contributions which had been subscribed for their benefit!

² "There are in my hands five very large parchments of strange alphabets, titles, and notations, which Mr. Hartlib bestowed upon me as the device of Caleb Morley, who (at a great age) showed the most wonderful specimen of artificial memory that ever was showed, as I think. And the English Court, for many years, saw the proof of it. But by his death (which was sudden, by a fall from his horse) these rolls are laid aside as unintelligible, and the art deplored as irrecoverably lost, or the author suspected of magic. Now, by casting my eye on these rolls, I am become confident that I can interpret every line, tittle, and blot (for there also are several kinds of mnemonical marks). And I can point out in which order every parcel is to be

takings, which are here adjoined. If God restore my health, which is exceedingly impaired, I shall not fail to look out Dr. More's letters, and to set them by themselves upon all occasions. I suppose by this time Mr. Patrick's large account concerning some providences is come to your hands. Mr. Haack going to London did undertake for the sending of that letter. I pray do not fail, God willing, to let me know when you have received it. By the copy of Mr. Comenius's letter in the beginning you will read the sad news concerning the stone. I labour under the painful and tormenting effects of it, that I have reason to despair of my life, which, if God continue, shall be spent more than ever through grace to his glory and the good of many; to which effect only I humbly beg the assistance of your faithful prayers, who am bound by so many obligations to subscribe myself in all conditions,

Sir,

Your much tormented friend, &c.,

Dec. 16, 1661.

S. Hartlib, Sen.

learned. And that these rolls were apprehended by Dr. Goad (then chaplain to the Archbishop, and famous at Dort, a stiff and staunch person) to be useful, may appear by these words at the close of the last roll under his hand: 'This alphabet, consisting of five pieces of parchment, and being a disposure of vowels and consonants tending to an art of facility and method, invented by Mr. Caleb Morley and presented by him to the King's Majesty, I have perused, and think it convenient and profitable to the purpose of the author, and therefore fit, according to his desire, to be printed and published by his appointment and to his use.'—Beal's letter to Boyle of the 25th of February, 1662 (Boyle's works, vol. v. p. 423). In a subsequent letter of the 29th of September, 1663, Beal writes: "Mr. Hartlib, in a large letter, gave account of Mr. Morley's very incredible performances. In following letters I pressed him to all particulars concerning Morley as far as he could give me any answer; only he told me of a scroll of parchment which he bought in Duck Lane, that it was Morley's, but so unintelligible to all mortals that he had cast it amongst his waste papers. For a view of this scroll I solicited some weeks or months before he could be at leisure to find it out. As soon as he sent it, at first cast of my eye, I saw it was a very costly and elaborate model, containing between forty and fifty feet length in parchment, engrossed in a beautiful hand, subdivided and glued into five rolls of differing importance. I intend, God willing, to leave those rolls and all the mnemonical books and other accounts of that art (which Mr. Hartlib sent me) in Gresham College, for the use of the Royal Society."—(Boyle's works, vol. v. p. 431.)

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 306.

Your last came to me a little before the holidays, and there being but one particular of enquiry in it, which I could not then satisfy, I thought to stay till the twelve days were over (I being from home for some time, and employed in business) to see whether I should be able to satisfy it, as both you and myself desired. The enquiry was about Mr. Patrick's intelligence, an account of which you say you gave to Mr. Haack to be conveyed to me, but as yet I have not received it, and so cannot satisfy you, as I hoped, about it. I am sorry it is miscarried, because it came from so worthy a person, and because it was upon a memorable argument; and I give that paper for lost, except Mr. Haack could remember the party to whom it was delivered. I am sorry the famed receipt about the stone proves otherwise; I wish men were more humble and modest in such matters, and would *φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν*; but it is not the first time that those kind of men have been immoderate in extolling their medicines. God teach us to cease from men more, and humbly to depend upon him, and to glory in him alone.

Dr. More's volume begins to draw towards a conclusion, and there will be a considerable addition in his *Conjectura Cabbalistica*¹

¹ This profound and original treatise, which is thoroughly imbued with More's fine fancy, and characterised by more than his usual eccentricity of speculation, was written at the desire of Lady Conway (see an account of her, vol. i. p. 140), and there is reason to believe that a portion of it was contributed by her ladyship. It is dedicated to Cudworth, of whom he says: "I do not know where to meet with any so universally and fully accomplished in all parts of learning as yourself, as well in the Oriental tongues and history as in all the choicest kinds of philosophy." The main object of the work is to prove that "the ancient Pythagorick or Judaick Cabbala did consist of what we now call Platonism and Cartesianism — the latter being, as it were, the body, the other the soul of that philosophy — the unhappy disjunction of which has been a great evil to both;" and to "resuscitate that ancient and venerable wisdom again to life, and bring together, as it were, the soul and body of Moses, fitly investing or cloathing him with the covering of his own most sacred text — an hardy exploit and not much unlike the raising from the dead the dislimbed Hippolitus." — (Preface

about the mystery of numbers, wherein Pythagoras and his followers were engaged, whose design was thereby to intimate the profoundest truths, and under that veil to secure them from the unworthy and unprepared, agreeably to the custom of the wise men in the first ages of philosophy.

In some former letters you have told me of the good esteem and use Mr. Beal hath of Schrevelius's¹ Lexicon for facilitating the study of Greek in his young students; I can now acquaint you that there is one who employs his labours to make that lexicon far more useful and beneficial, by adding to it where it is defective and making it a complete dictionary, and not to serve only for the explaining of Greek words in some few authors, as now it only reaches to Homer and some few more; and though it be designed to be made thus complete, yet the volume shall be (as it now is) in octavo. The person who undertakes it is Mr. Scattergood² (sometime of Trinity College in Cambridge) an expert

to Philosophical Works.) He further declares: "Though I call this interpretation of mine Cabbala, yet I must confess I received it neither from man nor angel. Nor came it to me by Divine Inspiration, unless you will be so wise as to call the seasonable suggestions of that divine life and sense that vigorously resides in the rational spirit of free and well-meaning Christians by the name of Inspiration. But such inspiration as this is no distracter from, but an accomplisher and an enlarger of the human faculties. And I may add that this is the great mystery of Christianity that we are called to partake of, *The perfecting of the human nature by the participation of the Divine.*" The addition to this work, alluded to by Worthington, was, "An Appendix to the Defence of the Philosophical Cabbala," which appeared for the first time in the collection of More's Philosophical Writings, published in 1662, folio. In the subsequent edition of this collection in 1713, folio, Latin Notes or Scholia, explanatory of the text, are subjoined to each chapter.

¹ Cornelius Schrevelius, well known from his variorum editions of the Classics, now little prized, and from his Greek lexicon, which, corrected and improved by different scholars who succeeded him, has been a popular manual up to the present time. He died at Leyden in 1667.

² Anthony Scattergood, Prebendary of Lincoln and Lichfield, and Rector of Winwick and Yelvertoft in Northamptonshire, and Chaplain to Archbishop Williams and Bishop Hackett. In Kennett's Register, p. 708, is King Charles the Second's letter to the University of Cambridge, for Scattergood to be created D.D. for his pains in digesting and fitting for the press the collection of *Critici Sacri*. His death took place in 1687.

linguist. It was he that went through those great labours of perusing and preparing the books for the *Bibliotheca Critico-Sacra*, in nine volumes, lately published, a work of infinite labour. I am also informed that Thomas his Latin Dictionary is under the like care; there is one that employs his pains about giving it a greater perfection, that a book of general use amongst young scholars may be made more advantageous to them. He that undertakes this is Mr. Goldman¹ (sometime of Christ College), who published the Latin notes of Mr. Boyse² (one whom Sir H. Saville

¹ Francis Goldman, or Gouldman, was educated in Christ's College, in Cambridge, was for some time Rector of South Okendon, in Essex, and died in 1689. He published a Latin dictionary in 4to in 1664, which was afterwards reprinted several times, and the Cambridge edition in 1674, much enlarged by William Robertson, and further, in 1678, by Dr. Scattergood. — Nichols's *Anecdotes*, vol. v. p. 208.

² John Boyse, or Boys, whose share in the translation of the Bible and Sir Henry Saville's noble edition of Chrysostom, will always make his name remembered, was the grandson of a clothier at Halifax, in Yorkshire. His father, William Boyse, was born at Halifax, educated at St. John's, Cambridge, and ultimately took up his residence at Nettlehead, in Suffolk, where his son, John Boyse, was born in 1560. He was sent in due time, like his father, to St. John's, where he became one of the most learned scholars of his day, and was chief Greek Lecturer in the College ten years together. His eminence in learning caused him to be selected not merely as one of the translators of the Bible, but also of the committee of six who had to revise the whole translation. He was one of the principal assistants of Sir Henry Saville in his edition of Chrysostom, printed at Eton College and published in 1613 in 8 volumes, folio. Sir Henry manifested more approbation of his notes than of those of Mr. Andrew Downes, the famous Greek Professor, who was so displeased with Boyse in consequence, that he never was reconciled till his death. Boyse became afterwards Rector of Boxworth and Prebendary of Ely, and, continuing an indefatigable student to the last, died at a good old age in 1643. After his death, his "*Veteris Interpretis cum Beza collatio*" was published at London in 1655, 12mo, and is a sufficient evidence of his erudition and critical skill. A biography of Boyse has been written by Dr. Anthony Walker, and published for the first time in Peck's *Desiderata Lib.* 8, folio ed., pp. 36–58. There are few similar productions which will afford greater pleasure from the quaintness and genial spirit with which the biographer describes his hero's career. The university man and student of the olden time are shadowed forth with great strength of outline. He mentions the three rules which Dr. Whitaker, the celebrated Regius Professor, gave to Boyse as a student, for the preservation of his health:—"1. Always to study standing; 2. Never to study in a window; 3. Never to go to bed with cold feet, which he most constantly observed." Boyse married a wife of the

much esteemed, and used in his noble edition of Chrysostom) upon the Four Evangelists and Acts. This Mr. Goldman was one that was employed also in the late edition of the Critics before mentioned upon the Bible.

I should be glad to hear that at last you received some real good by what is recommended to you for the removing or allaying of your pains, that your strength being renewed you might run and not be weary, walk and not faint, in the race you have set before you.

I was now about to make up this letter, but, perusing yours, I find in the margin a clause which seems to misconstrue my free and plain sense concerning that particular relating to Mr. Comenius and others, as if what was written did signify an upbraiding of the sufferers. I should afflict myself if any words should have come from me to that sense. But I desire my writing may be read with a clear and candid judgment. I am very secure (until I be otherwise convinced) that my lines were innocent, and free from such a blot. What I wrote was plain and faithful, and wholesome for them or for any in our nations that have split themselves (as you say) upon the same rock. The more any are awakened into a true and right discernment of any former failings, the more humbled they may be, and so the nearer to obtain mercies from heaven and from earth. And the way to awaken men

name of Holt, but, "he minding nothing but his book and his wife, through want of age and experience not being able sufficiently to manage other things aright, he was, ere he was aware, fallen into debt; the weight whereof when he began to feel, he forthwith parted with his darling (I mean his library). This caused some discontent betwixt him and his wife; insomuch that I have heard that he did once intend to travel beyond the seas. But religion and conscience soon gave those thoughts the check, and made it be with him and his wife, as chirurgeons say it is with a broken bone, if once well set the stronger for a fracture." He seems afterwards to have lived very happily with her. The worthy biographer's summing up on the occasion is admirable: "His own name and his wife's (before she married) were both, by interpretation, one; *Bois* in French, and *Holt* in Dutch, signifying *wood*. And as he was here a pillar in God's house, a great plank in the ark, so I trust they are both now timber for the building of that house, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

is to deal plainly with them; and to do this is a kindly office of friendship. Faithful are the wounds of a friend (saith Solomon) but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful. Non omnis qui parcit, amicus est; nec omnis qui verberat, inimicus: Quos diligo (inquit Dominus) redarguo, et castigo. To upbraid any is against my temper as well as against my principles. It is more natural and agreeable to me to pity men, which I may truly do though I deal plainly and freely with them. And for those persons, I have more than pitied them in thought or word.¹ The collection for them was when I was Vice-Chancellor, and I made it my care and labour to promote the contribution from the University, which was considerable.² I hope they have received the fruit of that real pity which both I and others expressed to them; and what obstructions remain, I wish were removed, that they may receive the remainder of the contribution. And may they find in other places such as shall express their compassionate sense as we have done. Our Saviour hath pronounced the merciful blessed.

I have now filled this paper, and have but room left to subscribe,

Yours affectionately,

Jan. 9, 1661-2.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Worthy Sir,

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as referred to, p. 13.

Your last is dated Jan. 9. I must enquire again at Mr. Haack, who carried Mr. Patrick's intelligence of a sheet long to be delivered. I do not as yet give that paper for lost. You will please to give me notice when Dr. More's volume is quite absolved. I have written already to Mr. Beal the other glottical news. The

¹ Worthington here gives a true and faithful description of his character and principles.

² See vol. i. p. 108.

enclosed Mnemonical account was given unto him long ago. He is the likeliest man in the kingdom to advance that art, and we have already many sheets more on that subject of his own meditations. I know sufficiently it is more natural and agreeable to you to bear a pity towards all men. The Lord reward the bowels of your compassions, which you have expressed so many ways for his Name's sake. Of the collection made for the Bohemians there remains yet above £900 lying in banco at Dublin. Lord Anglesey spoke once to his Majesty about the remainder of the English collection; he received a gracious answer, but was interrupted from making an end of that conference. I received lately another letter from Mr. Serrarius in these words: "In your last you secured me of pursuing no more your taking of Reisner's medicament till further order. Now, Sir, what shall I say? I crave pardon for my precipitancy. It grieves me very much that we, thinking to relieve you, have put you to more [trouble]. The Lord in his grace repair our default, as I beseech him to do. Henceforth I desire you would abstain from it, as I hope you have done since your last writing. For having now made more full enquiry, I cannot find one that is properly cured of the stone. That boy, indeed, had a stone in pene, which was drawn out by a surgeon, and drawn forth by this medicament, but the boy had no stone consumed in the bladder. If there be an adeptus with you, behold I have got a brave Ludus for you, which I shall send by the very next shipping. Mr. Comenius thanks you for the good hopes, and beseecheth you to urge the matter the most you can. I am sending to you his treatise, newly printed, of four sheets only, in 8vo, called *Independentia¹ æternarum Confusionum Origo*. The Armenian that

¹ This tract was originally printed at Lesna in 1650. The edition mentioned in the text is entitled "*Independentia æternarum Confusionum Origo, nationali in Anglia Synodo anno 1648 congregandæ spectamini oblata et typis anno 1650, Lesnæ descripta recusa vero Amsterdami anno 1661*," 12mo, pages 64. It was written and sent into England in 1648, with a view of throwing oil upon the waters, at that time of ecclesiastical confusion, but in what mode it was to be propounded to the public does not appear. It is a sensible, but rather declamatory, tract, in which he addresses himself not merely to the errors of the Independents, but to those also of the Presbyterians

was here to print the Bible in his native language, died here, and so left the work in *ipsis incunabulis*. Since, we expect from Armenia another to the same purpose, who is not yet come. We hear from Germany that Helmont¹ is secured prisoner in the name of the Elec-

and Episcopalians. He lays down strongly the necessity of a system of subordination and dependence throughout the whole of the universe, and illustrates his proposition by a long series of applications. One of them may be quoted: "*Omnia coherere aliaque ab aliis pendere debent nisi scopas esse dissolutas valis. Exemplo sit Libellus hic quem manu tenes: cujus coagmenta si solveris quid erit? Chartularum congeries. Si autem gluten quoque Literarum, quo chartæ insiderunt et adhærent, humore aliquo solvere sciveris, ut a chartâ sustentari desinant in chaos redibunt omnia: nec restabit quod legi aut menti sensum aliquem ministrare possit.*" Page 10.

¹ This was the celebrated Francis Mercury Van Helmont, the son of John Baptist Van Helmont, the famous chemist, noticed vol. i. p. 364. The son was not inferior to the father in acuteness, subtlety, and comprehensiveness of mind, but has been rather thrown into the shade by the great notoriety of that far-famed follower of Paracelsus. The various collections of biography have either omitted to notice Francis Mercury or have given a meagre and mistaken account of him. The only writer who has made any approach to a just estimate of the son is Brucker (vol. iv. p. 721), who, however, does not appear to have met with all his writings, which are numerous, and most of them of uncommon occurrence. The materials for his life are widely scattered, but a volume, and a very entertaining one, might be formed from his various adventures and singular and original publications. Adopting in a great measure his father's principles in medicine and chemistry, he struck out his own peculiar path in philosophy and religion. His opinions in the latter corresponded in some respects with those of Dr. Henry More; and the groves of Ragley, where resided his pupil and patient, Lady Conway, who understood his system as well or better than he did himself, witnessed many a profound discussion between these two super-subtle philosophers. In the early part of his life, Francis Mercury Van Helmont traversed the greater part of Europe with a caravan of Bohemian gipsies to learn thoroughly their habits and language, and was so intimately conversant with every variety of man that his conversation is represented by those who were thrown into his society in this country as in the highest degree striking and instructive. He preserved to his death the reputation of having acquired the great arcanum, and his carelessness with regard to money was such as almost to indicate that he had a perennial means of supply. During his residence in this country, which seems singularly enough to be scarcely known to his Continental biographers, several portraits were taken of him, now remaining in various collections and perpetuating one of those countenances which, once seen, live in the memory and are never effaced from it. In the latter part of his life he was thrown much amongst the Quakers, who claimed him as a proselyte, but he despised the sect, though he was rather favourable to some of their

tor of Mentz, with whom he dined newly before, and parted friendly from him. They carried him to Newburg and there keep him close, so that no man may come to him. The Lord be with him, and preserve him from evil. Amen. I had a letter from Mr. Dury this week. His negotiation seems to go on favourably hitherto in respect of all Reformed Churches on this side Frankfort. He is now taking counsel how to address himself to the Lutherans." And again: "Concerning one that should have found out a means to cut the stone out of the kidneys, I enquired here of two special Doctors, but they know of no such thing. From Frankfort they write to me that it is feared Helmont shall be carried away prisoner to the Pope at Rome.¹ Let it be how it will, his case is dangerous. O the treachery of the world! God hide us under the shadow of the Cross of Christ, where the malice of the world shall not find us." Thus far he. The letter is dated Jan. 5, 1661. Thus I rest ever,

Worthy Sir,

Your very affectionate, &c.,
S. Hartlib, Sen.

Jan. 14, 1661-2.

Jan. 25. This day cousin P. Whichcote went to King's College to continue.

opinions. An accurate list of his works, printed and in manuscript, has never yet been given, and is beyond the scope of a notice like the present, which is necessarily brief. The editor of this work has, what he believes is, a complete series of them, and has long collected whatever he could glean from manuscripts and printed sources, with a view to some biographical account of their very extraordinary author.

¹ What Dury feared did not happen on this occasion, but in 1663 F. M. Van Helmont suffered an imprisonment at Rome. (See *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitzianum*, vol. ii. pp. 1099, 1103.) In both cases his incarceration probably arose from the freedom with which he expressed his opinions. On his release from the latter imprisonment he was received by the Elector Palatine at Heidelberg, where he became acquainted with the Elector's sister Sophia, and passed much of his time afterwards at her court at Hanover.

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 310.

Yours of Jan. 14 I received, as also Mr. Patrick's paper of illustrious providences. The two remarkable stories I heard of at Cambridge, and perhaps from the scholar which Mr. Patrick means. That scholar expecteth a more full and large account of the second story; and if it cometh to my hands first, I shall not fail to repay you in a timely communication of it. The first page of your letter Jan. 14, about the not-succeeding medicament, with the advertisements thereon from Amsterdam, I had in your former letter, and an useful inference from it I wrote to you in my last. When Dr. More's book is finished you shall hear; it was hoped it would have been finished by the last of January, but some other occasions, it seems, have hindered the press from making that dispatch which was expected.

With your last letter I received a memorial of Caleb Morley's design, upon which no judgment can well be made, it being but a general story, and the papers it seems are lost which should have given a particular account of the work that he so long travelled with.

Helmont's case, by your relation, seems not a little dangerous; but if he be posted to Rome, the more. I do not remember any notices in any of your letters that signified the occasion of his trouble, whether he hath provoked them by any free speeches which they could not bear.

The Elector of Mentz was the person that pretended reconciliation, or removing the distances between Romanists and others; though I have heard nothing of late concerning the success of the proposals that went under his name. The great *μεσότοιχον* (and the animosities and self-interests of parties make it greater) between the Lutherans and Calvinists, and other divided churches in Christendom; when shall we see it moulder away? Christus pax nostra can break down this middle wall of partition also. He can make these one as He and the Father are One. But there must be

a new spirit put into them before they be of one mind and one heart, having the same love.

Dr. Whichcote made a step down into this country (his presence being necessary), and he returns by coach this week. His ague seems to have shaken him much. Though some have wished him to this or that means for the removing of it (as the Jesuit's powder, &c.), yet it is thought best to let the ague have its course, the spring drawing near when relief is hopeful, and not to contest violently with it, which does not use to be baffled or to go away kindly when so dealt with.

I hear that a little Arabic discourse is lately published by Mr. Pocock; if I mistake not it is the Arabic poet Altograi.¹ I know

¹ "The next thing that Dr. Pocock published, was an Arabic poem, intitled *Lamiatol-Ajam*, or *Carmen Abu Ismaelis Tograi*, with his Latin translation of it and large notes upon it; a poem which is held to be of the greatest elegancy, answerable to the fame of its author, who, as the doctor gives his character, was eminent for learning and virtue, and esteemed the phoenix of the age in which he lived for poetry and eloquence. Dr. Pocock's design in this work was not only to give a specimen of Arabian poetry, but also to make the attainment of the Arabic tongue more easy to those that study it; for his notes, containing a grammatical explanation of all the words of this author, are very serviceable for promoting the knowledge of that language, these notes being the sum of many lectures which he read on this poem. The speech that he delivered when he began to explain it is prefixed to it, which perhaps contains, though a succinct, yet as accurate an account of the Arabic tongue as is any where extant. After the general history of it, he there speaks of the things that recommend it, and particularly of these four — perspicuity, elegance, copiousness, and usefulness. An instance of the first of these he gives in that prompt way the Arabians have of expressing many things clearly in a very few words, which is hardly to be imitated in any other language; and the second, he says, appears both from the care employed in it, either by the adding, taking away, or change of letters, to suit words to the nature of the things they signify, and also from the sweetness or softness of the whole language, in which there never is a collision of two or more consonants but the sound of a vowel always intervenes. As to the copiousness of this tongue, he shews that there is no comparison between it and any other; the strange variety it has of synonymous words being such as one would stand amazed at. There are in it two hundred names for a serpent, which he there gives us; five hundred for a lion; and, to omit some other instances, so many for calamity, that, as he observes out of an Arabic writer, who endeavoured to make a catalogue of them, it is no small calamity to recite them. The whole number of words that make up this language is

not whether the Arabic Philosophical Fiction¹ (we have sometimes written about) be added to it; because I have not as yet seen the book. He is a very able person for the discovery of what is worthy in that language, and at Oxford there is a great magazine of Oriental books.

The second volume of the Lexicon Polyglotton is not yet in the press, nor will it be begun till they have prepared the whole. They have done something concerning every letter that remains in the alphabet, but before Christmas they had perfected all as far as Samech; and they hope in April to have done the whole, and to begin the printing, which will be dispatched as soon as may be. They found the inconvenience of undertaking to print the first volume of the Lexicon before they had wholly prepared it for the press, which made the press sometimes to stand, and yet the workmen must be paid, else they would hardly be kept together, so that by this means the work was more chargeable. When Dr. Castell hath served the good of the world in this, he will think it needful to rest, and to solace himself in the conscience of doing good, though his reward be not here. God is not unrighteous to forget any work or labour of love.

I think I have spoken in the former part of this paper to the severals in your letter. I shall conclude these present lines with the desires of your health and welfare, and the assurances that I am

Yours affectionately and faithfully,

Feb. 3, 1661-2.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

reckoned, as he assures us, by Hamezah Aspahanensis, from an eminent lexicographer, at twelve millions, three hundred and fifty thousand, fifty and two. . . . This book, *Carmen Tograi*, was printed at Oxford, in the year 1661, by the particular care and direction of the very learned Mr. Samuel Clarke, architypographus of that University, who not only made a preface to it, but also added a suitable treatise of his own, concerning the Arabic Prosodia. The treatise he dedicated to Dr. Pocock in an epistle for that purpose."—(*Pocock's Life*, edit. 1816, 8vo, pp. 247-9, 252.) Bishop Warburton, who had not the highest reverence for Oriental learning, often in joke mentioned to young students the number of words in Arabic, which Pocock has given (12,350,052), as a wonderful inducement to the study of the language.

¹ See vol. i. p. 176.

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Worthy Sir,

I have received some remarkable particulars, which I must needs impart unto you, for honest Mr. Serrarius is pleased to write as followeth: "I received your last, whereby I see to my great grief in what torments you continue still. The Lord, I say again, pardon our precipitancy, and repair our fault through his bountiful mercy. It comforts me to see you in such a frame of spirit as to take all at God's hands, and to submit to his providence, how hard soever to flesh and blood. This his work I beseech him to strengthen ever. Amen, Lord God. I have sent you the Ludus¹ in the packet of Mr. Comenius. For Sebaldus Schnellius I gave order to enquire at Leyden at Mr. Hornbeck's. Of Helmont we have nothing but that from all parts it is verified that he is kept very close and strict; nobody is admitted to speak with him but only the Prince of Newburg's guard. It is thought that they will force from him some of his father's secret sciences, and if not, to deliver him up to the inquisition as a seducer of the Prince of Sultzbach, from having brought him into Holland amongst heretics. Mr. Dury is coming back from the Landgrave of Hesse to Frankfurt on the Maine, and is like from thence to go towards Geneva. It seems he is to frame an Harmonia Confessionum inter Protestantas, unto which purpose he should go thither. As for Godefrey the patient, he seems to be now in the same posture as before he knew this chymaster. He was sounded or searched a week or two ago, because Reisner would persuade men that Godefrey feigned to have the stone and had it not; but it was found he had a huge one, so that Reisner in the presence of divers was put to shame. I kindly

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to p. 13.

¹ Whether the Ludus ever arrived or not, and whether, if it did, the adeptus managed to extract the oleum which was to work such a wonderful cure, we have no intelligence. Poor Hartlib, at all events, was not destined to be a successful instance of its application. Empiricism had done its worst with him, and he was not long to endure the torture of disease and the troubles of life, which seem to have accumulated as he approached to its close.

thank you for the communication of your new way of cutting the stone. I have imparted the same to some, and will see what further use can be made of it. I was last week at Glauber's¹ house, found him yet very sick, though in a recovering way for life, though not for perfect health. He said that against next Easter he would give forth what he promised. Here goes strange rumours, and are printed, as if there were a strong insurrection in England, which made his Majesty to fly; God forbid that should be true."² The letter is dated Feb. 3.

Mr. Comenius of the same date is pleased to write as followeth: "*Bes in Hungariâ et Poloniâ ita confusæ adhuc sunt, ut quorsum vis providentiæ tendat, nondum satis in conspectu est. Hostes certe nihil nisi reliquiarum ecclesiæ oppressionem, totalemq, extirpationem moliri ostendunt. Quid autem Deus adhuc sit permissurus, aut qualia illis capistra injecturus, inter spem et metum, malleumq, et incudem constituti, miseri fideles humiliter cœlos prospectant. Evigila Deus propter teipsum, ovesq, ad mactandum destinatos eripe: cujus misericordiæ ego te commendo.*"

I thought to have added some other remarkable matters, but it hath pleased God to visit my chamber with a very sad and fearful accident of fire, my boy overheating indiscreetly my iron stove,

¹ For an account of John Rudolf Glauber, whose chemical discoveries have acquired for him a lasting fame, see Chalmers's Biog. Dict. and the various Encyclopædias. His pursuits, like those of most of the experimentalists of his day, were the panacea and the philosopher's stone, and though he missed these great objects of his search, he undoubtedly struck out many brilliant lights by the way. One of his most important discoveries is that of the salt which bears his name, to which a long list of others, which have wonderfully contributed to the advancement of the science of chemistry, might be added. He was born in Germany at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, and died at Amsterdam in 1668. His works, which are well worth a minute examination, from the mixture of gold and alloy, of truth and fallacy, which almost every page discloses, and which always affords a study to the philosophical observer of the progress of the human mind, were translated into English by Christopher Pack, and published at London in 1689, folio.

² These rumours were probably occasioned by the Sham or Presbyterian plot, a curious account of which is given by Captain Andrew Yarranton in his pamphlet, published in 1681. See also Ralph's History, vol. i. p. 53.

which burnt in pieces a wooden mantle-tree, and would have set the whole house on fire if it had broken out in the night season; yet many of my things were spoiled. But blessed be God that it was so soon observed and resisted, it being at noon day. I pray let me know in your next whether I have imparted already the new way of cutting the stone, used by the operator at Castres. I could wish Dr. Whichcote, now being with you, he knew my sad condition, whose unfeigned purpose is to live and die,

Worthy Sir,
Your very heartily, &c.,
Sam. Hartlib, sen.

Feb. 6, 1661-2.

S. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington.

Worthy Sir,

I hope you have or will receive all my former which I have sent of late, for as yet I could not answer your last of Feb. 3; and this may be the last of mine for aught I know, being very much tormented in body, and afflicted in mind by reason of that lamentable fire that broke out in my study, as I wrote formerly. I am glad Mr. Patrick's paper of illustrious providences is at last come to your hands. Dr. More's book will be always very welcome to one that professeth himself so exactly obliged to so worthy a gentleman. Caleb Morley's design will not be lost, if it please God to spare a little longer Mr. Beal's ingenious and industrious life. He will go near to give you a particular account of the Mnemonical work that he so long travelled with.

Baker's Camb.
MSS. as refer-
red to p. 13.

Mr. Serrarius writes again, Feb. 7: "From Helmont we have none other tidings but that he is still prisoner, and that very close, no man being admitted to him. They accuse him of seducing the Prince of Sultzback, and of having spoken ill of the Jesuits, and such like matters; whereas their aim seems to be no other but to force out of him some of his father's secrets. The Lord comfort and strengthen him with that glorious power wherewith Christ overcame

the world." He adds: "As for your way of cutting the stone, I communicated it to Jacob Cornelis, a man of special industry in that kind; as likewise to two doctors, who liked very well of it, and will see to get the practice of it on foot, and make many-much beholding both to you and Mr. Oldenburg." He adds also: "That the redemption of Israel is drawing near;¹ I take it from hence, (1.) That in general they are now fitter for mercy than ever, because they are now in a very suffering condition for wars not caused by themselves but by others. (2.) Because the throne of that monarchy which holds them captive is not only obscured, but seems to be ready to fall, and therefore, very like, they ready to rise. (3.) Because I heard lately

¹ Dr. Nathaniel Homes, in his "Ten Exercitations," published in this year (1661), looks forward to the restoration of the Jews as near at hand: "There is a fair probability now afore us, that the Turk at present invading Europe will open a wide opportunity to the Jews to arise to return into their own land. For either the Turk, by this expedition into Europe, will be forced to dry up Euphrates (I mean drain it of all the fighting Turks inhabiting thereabout), drawing them after him to his assistance in this war; or else, after he hath beaten down the idolatrous papacy (as he calls it), being a great impediment to the call of the Jews (and therefore expected to precede before the fall of the Turk), the Turk in this his bold attempt will be forced to fall in battel, with a mighty slaughter, to the utter weakning of his empire. By either of which, so coming to passe, the Jews are likely to be encouraged to take the field, assisted with the Persians (greatly incensed of late against the Turk), among whom the Jews numerously live. And when we see the Jews with their assistants able to keep the field, then behold the critical day of the prelude of the forty-five years (Dan. xii., two last verses). I say then, or near to begin, which are the ante-scene to the glorious state."—*The Resurrection Revealed raised above Doubts and Difficulties in Ten Exercitations*, by Dr. Nathaniel Homes, Lond. 1661, folio, p. 179. This learned divine's expectations were not doomed to be realized; however, in a subsequent work written by him, in my possession, which is so rare that it appears to have been unknown to all his biographers, entitled "Miscellanea, consisting of Three Treatises," London, printed for the author," folio, N.D.; but circ. 1666, he has a chapter styled "Some Glimpses of Israel's Call approaching, from Scripture, reason, and experiences," in which he observes: "For the present year, 1665 (within five days now expiring), *men's eyes sufficiently perceive the Jews cease trading, pack up, and are marching.*" Page 16. Probably the doctor's eyes, as has been the fate of many an Apocalyptic interpreter, deceived him as to this movement of the Jews. If any such exodus took place, and no writer has mentioned it that I am aware of, the plague of London would have more to do with it than any call in an eastern direction.

of a Jew from Cracovia, that there they have much fasting, prayings, and humiliations of themselves for mercy and restoration from the hand of God ; at which hearing I was much rejoiced and conceived a hope their redemption must be nigh." Thus far Mr. Serrarius.

We hear nothing more of the Elector of Mentz his proposals of pacification. I have heard of nothing of late from Mr. Pocock, Mr. Boyle having been so long absent from him. The said gentleman is refuting Mr. Hobbes's book,¹ come out against him not long ago. I thank you for the advertisement you have given of the second volume of the *Lexicon Polyglotton*. O what shame it is that laborious Dr. Castel is not better encouraged nor rewarded, and that the great pretending world knows no better Dr. Worthington than yet they do. But your great labours and usefulness shall never be in vain in the Lord, to whose love you are so heartily commended. Last Thursday the Queen of Bohemia,² seventy-two years of age, departed this world. She died at Leicester House in the Fields. His Majesty would have removed her to Denmark or Somerset House had the physicians consented to it. But of this I doubt not you will hear more from others. I desire to live and die,

Worthy Sir,

Your most affectionately obliged, faithful
friend to love and serve you,

Feb. 14, 1661-2.

Sam. Hartlib, Sen.

¹ This was Hobbes's *Dialogus Physicus*, Lond. 1661, 4to, to which Boyle replied in his *Examen*, Lond. 1662, 4to.

² The eventful life of this eldest daughter of James I. has at length found in Miss Green a biographer, who will do ample justice to the subject. Her narrative, in a great measure compiled from sources hitherto unexamined, is at present carried on to 1642 only (*Lives of the Princesses of England*, vol. v. pp. 145-573), but will be concluded in the next volume of her work. Hartlib is mistaken with respect to the Queen's age. The *Kingdom's Intelligencer* gives it more correctly: "She died on St. Valentine's eve, February 13 (which was the eve of her marriage, 1612), in the 66th year of her age, having, with inexpressible patience and candour, borne the successes and changes to which mortal princes are subject, and at last, after so many years' absence, returned to sleep with her royal ancestors at Westminster." — (*Kingdom's Intelligencer* of February 17, 1661-2.)

Feb. 2, 9, 16. I preached at Ditton.

Feb. 18. This morning, about four o'clock, arose a mighty wind.

Dr. Worthington to S. Hartlib.

Sir,

Worthington's
Miscellanies,
p. 313.

Both yours I received, and I am glad that my former letter of February 3 came safe to you. Dr. Whichcote was returned to London before yours came. I have not heard from Mr. Foxcroft's at Finsbury since Dr. Whichcote returned hither.

I was sorry to hear of your late danger by the fire in your study, which might have been more devouring and terrible had it been in the night. I hope that the violence was prevented from destroying many of your papers, and that Horrox his *Venus in Sole Visa* (if it were there) is safe. I have no other copies but those papers, which are the author's original, and I question whether there be any other.

Something answerable to your sufferings by fire I have experienced in the violence of the late wind.¹ It was in the morning, else it had been more dreadful. I feared it would have proceeded to have done more prejudice than the uncovering the roofs and beating down the walls in several places of my dwelling, even to have overturned the structure, as it hath done in some towns and some parts of this village. To repair these damages will cost money, but it might have made our houses our sepulchres, and buried many families in the ruins of their houses. God always inflicts less than we deserve. Scarce any wind hath been known like to this, except that in the year 1636,

¹ "This morning, about two of the clock, February 18, began a most violent storm of rain, mixt with lightning, which lasted about two hours, after which followed such an impetuous tempest of wind that I think the like was never known in these parts. It continued till almost noon. There was scarce any safety within doors or without. There is not a church nor house in this city but hath received some considerable loss. The highways are so full of fallen trees, that travellers can hardly pass." — Hereford. (Kingdom's Intelligencer of the 24th February, 1661-2.)

in the beginning of November, which Dr. Jackson hath taken notice of in his writings.

I hope your pain of the stone, though grievous to endure, is not so near the putting a period to your days of service here; but that as heretofore you have been preserved when it was thus with you, it may be so still, and that you may live to enjoy that contentment which you promise yourself in this improved edition of Dr. More's five books in one volume. You ask me whether I ever received the new way of cutting the stone used by the operator at Castres? I never saw it. I have heard of a Scotchman that had a new way, but whether that be it you mean I know not.

The character of that excellent Prince Ernestus, Duke of Weimar, is so good that I could have read it if enlarged into a volume. I remember three or four years since Mr. Dury spake of him some things to this purpose, and perhaps he wrote the letter that gives this character. Were it enlarged into more particulars, so as to make a little Golden Manual, it would be an excellent idea for some to look upon when it is thought fit to be published.

The news of the Jews' fasting and humiliations is very grateful, and if it were not only in some one or few places (for which perhaps there may be some particular reasons or occasions), but more general and universal, it is the best of the three grounds your letter mentions of the hope that their redemption draws nigh. I remember R. Kimchi¹ upon Hosea, and others elsewhere, speak of a great Teshubah, or repentance, as preparative to their restoration, and upon Isai lix. 20, they say "Conjuncta est poenitentia redemptioni." But for the spirit and temper of the Jews and of their writings, it seems very distant from the holy religion advanced by our Saviour in the world. There is very little sense and savour of what is divinely moral in their writings. The Pythagoreans and Platonists were by many degrees more *εὐθετοὶ εἰς βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, fit and disposed

¹ David Kimchi, a renowned Spanish Rabbi, who died at a very advanced age about 1240. His Hebrew works are in high repute amongst the Jews, and amongst them are his Commentaries on the Psalms, Proverbs, and most of the other Books (including Hosea) of the Old Testament.

for the kingdom of God, and seemed to have a more inward apprehension and hearty relish of what was virtuous and divine; their conceptions were more generous, and more expressive of what is worthy and perfective of the soul. Whereas there is a great silence in the Jews' writings about what is practical, and refers to a life exemplary in goodness; they speak in the scripture phrase, but it is about the lighter and lesser matters of the law; they run out into fond niceties about letters and words;¹ they are great self-lovers, priding themselves in the privileges of their nation; and are very unspiritual in their thoughts of Messias, and the good the world was to receive by him. The best thing of them and their writings is that which relates to customs and antiquities, which are of use for the understanding of the Scriptures. The more their dogmata, their spirit and notions, are known, the better is a Christian enabled to deal with them. It must be a mighty spirit of humiliation and repentance poured out upon them that must make such a people ready for the Lord, whose principles and practices are so undivine, so distant from the spirit of Christ and the best rules of the best life delivered by Him, the Great Prophet and best Teacher of Souls.

Having occasion lately to look into Dr. Lightfoot's² *Horæ Hebraicæ* and *Talmudicæ Impensæ*, 1—In *Chorographiam terræ Israeliticæ*, 2—In *Evangelium S. Matthæi*, printed at Cambridge about three or

¹ This brings to mind the fine passage in Warburton's *Divine Legation*, where he adverts to the light to be derived from the various writers on the Mosaic Dispensation. After noticing the Christian divines, he proceeds: "Much less are we to hope from the Jewish doctors, who, though they still inhabit, as it were, the ruins of this august and awful fabric; yet it is with the same barbarity of taste and impotence of science, that the present Greeks hide themselves among the mouldering monuments of Attic power and politeness;—who, as our travellers inform us, can do no more towards the support of those prodigies of their forefathers' art than to whitewash the Parian marble with chalk, or to incrust the porphyry and granate with tiles and potsherds." I quote the passage from the second edition of volume ii. of the *Divine Legation* (1742, 8vo, p. 367). Like many other passages, it is not improved by the alterations in the later editions of that delightful work. Warburton's habit of constantly altering his language in the successive editions of the *Divine Legation*, and generally with an injurious effect, is noticed in an early prologue of the editor, "An Essay on Warburton and Johnson."—(*Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. viii.)

² See, as to Lightfoot, vol. i. p. 53.

four years since, I thought that when you have occasion to write to Leyden, it would be very acceptable for any one to inform Cocceius of it. For (if he hath not seen it) the first part of it, viz., *Centuria Chorographica* might be of some use to him in his edition of Josephus, because much of Josephus is referred to all along and further explained out of Hebrew antiquities, which make mention of the several places in Jerusalem and the Holy Land; especially those books of Josephus de Bello Judaico are continually referred to in this treatise.

I have seen Mr. Pocock's *Tograi*, a short Arabic poem, with his notes upon it, which yet are most grammatical. The lofty strain of the eastern nations is discernible in it. There is also added to it *Prosodia Arabica*, a new work by Mr. Clerk, who had a great stroke in the *Biblia Polyglotta*; and I was much pleased to read in the preface, that very shortly will be extant, by the labours of Mr. Pocock, *Gregorii Abul-Pharagii*¹ *Historia Dynastiarum*, a specimen of

¹ "Gregorius Abul Pharajius's History of the Dynasties, translated by Dr. Pocock, was at that time in or ready for the Oxford press, the edition of which was finished in the year 1663. That part of this book which gives an account of the rise of Mahomet, the doctor had published, as it has been shewn, several years before; and, upon the importunity of several learned men, who were much pleased with that specimen (more particularly of his friend, Dr. Langbaine, who had earnestly pressed him to it before his death) the whole was now printed in the original Arabic, with his Latin version of it. This Abul Pharajius was a Christian of the Jacobite sect, of great fame for learning, not only among those of his own religion, but among the Jews too, and Mahometans; and this work of his is a compendium of the general history of the world from the creation to his own time. It is divided by him into ten dynasties or governments; for so many he reckons up, which are these following. The first is that of the Holy Patriarchs, from Adam the first man; the second, of the Judges in Israel; the third, of the Kings thereof; the fourth, of the Chaldeans; the fifth, of the Magi or Persians; the sixth, of the Greeks that were idolaters; the seventh, that of the Franks, for so he calls the Romans; the eighth, of the Greeks, who were Christians; the ninth, of the Saracens; and tenth, of the Mogul Tartars. This work, as is noted above, was published anno 1663, and dedicated to his Majesty King Charles the Second; but the love of Arabic learning was now waxed cold, and the entire piece of Abul Pharajius in the year 1663, met with small encouragement, whilst a specimen of it, anno 1649, had given pleasure to all the learned world." — (*Pocock's Life*, by Twells, prefixed to his *Theological works*, vol. i. 1740, folio, p. 60.)

which Mr. Pocock published ten years since. The character of this MS. history is thus given by Abraham Echellensis: "Gregorius Abul-Pharagius, vir suâ ætate doctissimus in Historia Dynastiarum non solum diligenter diserteque principum gesta describit, et rerum varios eventus et successus ab orbe condito ad sua tempora enarrat; sed et peculiari quadam sectione recenset, quinam sub singulis principibus floruerint viri in scientiis illustres, quænam et quâ linguâ ediderent opera, eorumque apothegmata et præclara facta inserit." So Abraham Echellensis Maronita, Syriacæ et Arabicæ linguæ in Acad. Parisiensi Professor.

I do (as you) resent Dr. Castell's condition and merits. As for myself, whom you also reflect upon, if God will use such a nothing as I am, I have devoted myself to the seeking and endeavouring what may be for the good of men, and the advancement of that knowledge especially which is *κατ' ἐνσέβειαν*. I measure and value the excellency and worth of things by their respect and tendency to the best end.

I have filled all this paper. I conclude with the assurance that I am,

Yours,

Feb. 24, 1661-2.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]¹

1661-2.

Feb. 23, Mar. 2, 16, 28, 30 (Easter Day). I preached at Ditton, and April 6.

April 14. Dr. Pearson was [appointed] Master of Trinity College.

April 20. I preached at Ditton.

April 21. Dr. Beaumont was [appointed] Master of Jesus College.

May 4, 11. I preached at Ditton.

¹ Here the correspondence between Worthington and Hartlib terminates, the latter's foreboding in the preceding letter, "this may be the last of mine," being, it appears, realized.

May 14. This day the Queen landed at Portsmouth, about four in the afternoon.¹

May 23, 1662. This day died Mr. Sam. Jewell, Fellow of Jesus College, one of singular worth.

May 18, 25. I preached at Ditton. June 1. I preached at Milton.

Jun. 10. I went from Ditton. Jun. 11. I came to London. June 27. I came to Cambridge. Laus Deo.

Jun. 29, Feb. 6. I preached at Ditton, and July 13.

July 8. I began to send some pieces of Mr. Mede to London for the press.

Jul. 19. I was at the Visitation at Cambridge; paid 6s. for exhibits.

July 20. I preached at Milton, and July 27, at Ditton.

July 31. I received from Mr. Naylor my animadversions on his MS., which I sent to Mr. Paschall.

Aug. 3, 10, 17. I preached at Ditton.

Aug. 20. I went to London. Aug. 22. Came out of London.

[Here follows a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury and William Sherman, Registrar, dated the 21st August, 1662, of Worthington's having made the declaration of subscription required by the Act of Uniformity.]

Aug. 23. I came to Cambridge. Laus Deo.

Aug. 31, Sept. 7, 14, 21, 28. I preached at Ditton, and Oct. 5, 12, 19, 26.

Sept. 29. Damaris began to go alone.

Nov. 2, 5, 9, 16, 22, 30, Dec. 7. I preached at Ditton.

Dec. 12. Damaris fell from the high chair, but had no hurt. Laus Deo.

¹ On the news of the Queen's landing, all the bells in London rang, and bonfires were kindled for joy of her arrival. The King was supping with Lady Castlemaine that night; but there was no bonfire at her door, though at almost every other door in the street, which, says Pepys, was much observed. See Miss Strickland's amusing narrative of the particulars attending the Queen's arrival. — *Lives of the Queens*, vol. v. (edit. 1851) p. 512.

Dec. 14, 21, 25, Jan. 4, 11, 25, Feb. 8, 22, Mar. 1, 8, 15, 22. I preached at Ditton.

To his Revd. good friend Dr. Worthington, at Ditton.

[From Dr. Stephens.]

The civil courtesies that I have formerly received from you in Jesus College, oblige me to an acknowledgement and to make a grateful return, if in anything I may serve you. I find by some discourse at Ely House that it is probable you will be lifted at for Ditton; and although your title may prove good, yet it will not be maintained without trouble and expense. And I believe it may lie in my power to prevent it, if you will embrace a fair exchange. The living that I propose lies in Suffolk, in an excellent good air, and has a very convenient house, of the value of above £140 per annum, to speak modestly of it. The difficulty will lie on my part to procure the presentation to both. If this motion be agreeable to you, let me know your mind in a line or two, which my cousin Day of Cambridge will convey to me. If there be occasion, I will come down that way from London, and discourse farther with you about it. However, conceal the intimation I have given you, lest my designed courtesy to you prove a discourtesy to myself. I shall be very glad if I can effectually show myself,

Sir,

Your very affectionate and humble servant,

London, Apr. 18, 1663.

Thos. Stephens.¹

To Dr. Stephens [from Dr. Worthington.]

Worthy Sir,

Yours of April 18 I received, and I thank you for the kindness of your lines. Those poor civilities which you are pleased to

¹ See an account of Dr. Thomas Stephens vol. i. p. 46.

mention were but such as I thought due to yourself and others that had been of the College, which I therefore performed with all alacrity, and without the least design of retribution.

I thank for your intimation of the discourse about Ditton, a place which I was often moved to by Dr. Collins,¹ whose respected desire it was (almost as often as he was pleased to honour me with his frequent visits) that I might succeed him in that benefice. But I never heard from him, nor any other person in the least, that the Bishop of Ely used to present to that place, till many years after (by the notice I had from Dr H.). And so what appearance there might seem of omission of due respect, it was purely from ignorance, and that unattended with any pravity of disposition. If any new antagonist design me (notwithstanding the clearness of the Act of Parliament, which was then but in fieri when Dr. H. moved) any new trouble, and enforce me a journey to Westminster Hall to prove that I was in possession before the 25th of December mentioned in the Act, I cannot help the trouble of a journey, but the expenses will not hurt me. I shall be in charity, and meditate no other revenge than to return good for evil, and to pray for him that God would forgive him the trouble he gives to one that is for peace on earth and good will to all the world. If it were to part with cloak or coat, the case were otherwise than to cast away *ἀντὶ τὸν βίον*, and that not upon the poor, but it may be upon those that are more fit to give than to receive.

If I could have heard of some place of competent provision elsewhere, so it were near to good libraries or to some place of books, I had not this occasion of writing. The remainder of my life I have devoted more particularly to books, and the service of ingenuous scholars wherein I am capable.

As for the latter part of your letter, it is not possible for me to return a full answer to so important a matter, except I understood more of the particulars. You shall be heartily welcome, if you will be pleased to call on me in your return to Bury, whereby I may be

¹ See vol i. p. 46.

better enabled to speak to that which as yet I am too ignorant of, being hinted in the general.

[John Worthington.]

To Dr. Stephens [from Dr. Worthington.]

Sir,

Yesterday I returned a speedy answer to yours. It came to me in the afternoon, and I was not free from the company of some neighbours who came to visit us; yet because I understood that a speedy answer was desired, and would be most acceptable to you, I delayed not to gratify you therein, though an affair of this importance would require some greater proportions of time for consideration and the most deliberate thoughts. Having immediately despatched away an answer by the same messenger that brought yours, I thought afterwards of some things that might have been added. I should have intimated to you, to prevent all possible disappointment if you should call here while I might be absent, that I am invited to a visit of some friends in the borders of Cambridgeshire, which, though no long journey, and my absence therefore will not be long, yet it might possibly fall out at that time when your occasions call you to return to Bury; and therefore if you please in a line to signify when your return will probably be this way, I should not fail to be (God willing) in the way. I am very often at Cambridge by reason of some particular studies which require my being often and long in the University library and booksellers' shops, and it might happily so fall out that I might be at Cambridge when you are there also, perhaps at your cousin Day's.

I might also in my former letter have wished to have known the name of the place in Suffolk (a county of which I have some knowledge in some parts) which might the better have enabled me to write more fully. As also if you had signified the person who desires to be disposed here (for by your letter he should seem to be some third person). And to speak *ἀληθείας καὶ σωφροσύνης ῥήματα*,

if I be disposed in some other cure (although a donative or some place that affords more vacancy for studies than one that is accompanied with a cure of souls is more desirable) I could heartily desire that the person who succeeds were such as would express personal charity to the souls and bodies of the people, and not live I do not know how many miles distant from them and be seldom here, as being loaded with several other benefices, or places of trust and profit, such as (according to what I mentioned in my yesterday's letter) is more fit to give than to receive, that is, to part with some of the many places to those that want, than to desire the single one (the one little ewe lamb in the parable) which others are content with and thank God for. For now it comes into my mind that that clause in my letter might (if it miscarry or meet with the uncharitable and prejudiced) be distorted to sense which I hold unworthy and sordid. It is enough to hint by the way this touch of my innocent meaning to you, who have better eyes and a more generous candour to read what a friend writes. You will please to excuse any imperfections in my lines, the more for my haste in writing. I shall conclude this postscript or appendix to the other letter with the subscription of

[John Worthington].

Dr. Whichcote in a Letter to Dr. Worthington, April 23, 1663.

—Were your case mine, I would readily close with an offer to remove into Suffolk to £140 per annum upon good terms; and he is a good friend indeed who will undertake and perform such a thing for you. For such circumstantiated accommodations as you mention one may wait all the days of his life before he meet with them. Besides, such a present remove as you mention (from molestation) will not hinder your future closing with what may fit you better for time to come.

To his Rev. good friend Dr. Worthington, at Ditton, &c.

[From Dr. Stephens.]

Sir,

In your last of Tuesday morning some proposals are made which are better answered by discourse than by letter. If your occasions call you to Cambridge next week on Wednesday or Thursday, be pleased to ask for me at my cousin Day's; otherwise, send word of your purpose of being at Ditton, to give me opportunity of waiting upon you. You will then find that I have no other design but entirely to serve you honestly. And you may be assured that I have more candour than to make a sinister construction of anything in your letters. You will really find, Sir, that I am unfeignedly,

Your servant,

London, Apr. 25, 1663.

Thos. Stephens.

To his honourable friend Dr. Worthington, at Dr. Whichcote's house at Blackfriars, &c.

[From Mr. Francis Theobald.]¹

Honoured Sir,

This day as I was riding to Ipswich I overtook Mr. Fairfax, and told him that you were at his house to have spoken with

¹ Mr. Francis Theobald, the writer of this letter, was the Patron of the living of Barking. Mr. John Fairfax was the Incumbent, but was turned out by the Act of Uniformity. Calamy (*Ejected Ministers*, vol. ii. p. 642) gives a very high character of him. "He had a most attracting and captivating power in his preaching. His words were as apples of gold in pictures of silver. He was to his hearers as a very lovely song of one that had a pleasant voice. He never courted preferment, nor would accept of it when it would have tempted him from the poor people of his first love." He died at his house in Barking, August 11th, 1700, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Bury of St. Edmund's Bury. His publications are: 1. *The Life of Mr. Owen Stockton, with his Funeral Sermon*, 1681, 12mo; 2. *Primitive Synagogue, a Sermon preached at Ipswich at the opening of a new erected Meeting-house*; 3. *Sermon on the death of Mr. Newcomen*, but which, Calamy observes, was printed by Dr. Collings against his consent.

him in reference to that overture that was made to you of Barking living; and he expressed how much he was troubled that he was not at home, for he would have given you all the encouragement that might be to proceed in your design, and accordingly hath now writ his sense in his own phrase in this enclosed, to which I shall refer you. And now I think I shall need to say no more, but that you shall do well to eye the providence of God leading you in this transaction, and not to slight it. One thing is considerable, that you come to the Diocese of a Rev. Bishop¹ who, I think, is known to you, and from whom I doubt not but you will have a due respect. As for me, you have known me so long that you cannot but think that we may sweetly and comfortably converse together. And whatever may be represented to you concerning the people in this place, you will, I am confident, find them unanimously well pleased with the choice of you for their minister, and you may be assured that you shall have all the assistance and encouragement that is imaginable from

Your unfeigned friend and servant,

Ipswich, 9 May, 1663.

Fra. Theobald.

I pray present my service to Dr. Whichcote and his lady. I shall (God willing) be at London the latter end of this week, where I hope to find you and give you full satisfaction in reference to the settling of your thoughts as to Barking living.

To the Rev. his honoured friend Dr. Worthington, &c.

[From the Rev. J. Fairfax.]

Honoured and worthy Sir,

It was not my happiness to be at home on Wednesday last, when, by a double trouble of coming to my house, you testified your great desire to speak with me; which I cannot but understand also, and gratefully acknowledge, as the testimony of your respect to

¹ Bishop Reynolds.

me. I was very glad at my return home yesterday to hear by my wife what your business was, whereof I am further assured this day by Mr. Theobald. I have therefore speeded this letter to you by the first post, as desirous, if possible, to make you some satisfaction for your former disappointment; wherein I must first premise my hearty thankfulness for your great civility, which was pleased to take any notice of me in reference to the living of Barking. You may be confident that I am so far from being unwilling that you should take the place from which I am removed, that I shall account your succession the matter of my hearty rejoicing, and the merciful return of my daily prayers to God in behalf of my people. I suppose Mr. Theobald hath satisfied you concerning the value of the living. If you desire a further proof by my experience, you may believe the living to be worth £140 per annum; and if all dues be well paid, you may find it better. As for the people, I should do them wrong to make an evil report of them. I have found much respect from them. You will find but few whom you can with delight converse with as a scholar; but I hope you will find many with whom you may with comfort converse as a Christian. I have, I may say, some interest in the hearts of some of them at least, which you may expect shall be improved for you. For myself, I shall account it my great privilege to be improved under your ministry, and in the enjoyment of your desirable society, which I promise myself your humility and ingenuity will indulge me. Sir, if the place and people be acceptable to you, I desire you to pursue your thoughts and inclination to come to us. And wherein my capacity doth empower me to be serviceable to you, be confident you shall find me your most ready though unworthy friend to serve you,

John Fairfax.¹

Ipswich, May 9, 1663.

¹ This letter bears out Calamy's character of the writer. Considering that it is written by an ejected Minister to his successor, it displays most commendable Christian feeling.

To his Rev. friend Dr. Worthington, at Dr. Whichcote's, &c.

[From Dr. Stephens.]

Good Sir,

I have represented your desires to Mr. Wren¹ with all advantages imaginable. I find that your friend Dr. Wilkins had prevented me in most that I had to speak. He seems well satisfied that you have no purpose to procrastinate, because the time to which you have limited yourself to give your final determination is within so few days. He thinks it not expedient to make a report of it to my Lord of Ely this week.² All that I shall add is this, that as I heartily wish you content in what you shall design, so I desire you may come to a speedy resolution, lest I be in no capacity to perform those civilities to you which I have purposed. You shall always find me,

Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

Thos. Stephens.

May 14, 1663.

To Dr. Worthington [from Dr. Stephens.]

Sir,

That you may go out of town without any fears or suspicion of miscarriage, remember that my dispensation fixes me upon Ditton, so that I am incapable of any other; and all that I have acted in it has been by order from Ely House.

Thus, wishing you a good journey, I am, Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

Tho. Stephens.

May 20, 1663.

¹ Matthew Wren, eldest son of the Bishop of Ely, for an account of whom Birch's *Hist. of the Royal Society*, vol. iii. p. 65, may be seen.

² Bishop Wren, see vol. i. p. 24.

Dr. Stephens in a Letter May 21, 1663.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

— I have been again at Ely House, where my instrument is preparing; but it will not be possible for me to despatch this work, because with my best diligence I cannot yet meet with Sir John Birkenhead,¹ who must sign my faculty before it can be fitted for the broad seal. You may assuredly quit all fears, and take your first opportunity for your journey to Norwich, where I heartily

¹ Sir John Birkenhead was appointed Master in the Faculty Office in November, 1660. Cheshire has the honour of giving birth to this brilliant political satirist, whose father was Randall Birkenhead of Northwich, saddler and publican, and who was born there about 1615. He became a Servitor at Oriel College, Oxford, and afterwards amanuensis to Archbishop Laud, and probationary Fellow of All-Souls College. During the Civil War, from 1642 to the end of 1645, he kept up in his newspaper published at Oxford, "*Mercurius Aulicus*," a constant and merciless fire of wit against the Roundheads. He was assisted by Dr. Peter Heylin occasionally, but their compositions are perfectly distinguishable, and the life and spirit, the galling and bitter satire, were evidently imparted by Birkenhead. It was long said that this Mercury was the production of a club of wits, but for this report there appears to have been no foundation. The Republicans called in the assistance of Marchmont Needham against the terrible scourge of their party; but with all his power of party writing, and it was very considerable, the "*Mercurius Britannicus*" was confessedly inferior to the paper it combated in lively and trenchant wit, and amusing and well delivered personality. It is now much the scarcest of the newspapers published in the time of the Civil Wars, and of all of them best deserves preservation. On King Charles's return, Sir John obtained a grant of the office mentioned above, was knighted November 14, 1662, and succeeded Sir Richard Fanshaw as Master of Requests. He died in Westminster December 4th, 1679, and was interred at St. Martin's in the Fields. A list of the pieces attributed to him will be found in Wood's *Athenæ* and Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.*; but his authorship of some of them seems to rest on very insufficient authority. His library and collection of manuscripts sold after his death for £1100. Wood and Aubrey seem to have been strangely prejudiced against him. The latter gives the following by no means pleasing picture of this great newspaper editor of the olden time (*Lives*, vol. ii. p. 239): "He was exceedingly confident, witty, not very grateful to his benefactors, *would lye damnably*. He was of middling stature, great goggle eyes, not of a sweet aspect." What mince-meat Sir John would have made of the historian of Surrey if he had only been aware of the colours in which he was to be transmitted to posterity!

wish you good success in reference to Moulton. Mr. Theobald, now with me, presents his true respects to you, and desires you not to fail to meet him at his house on Friday come seven-night, for he tells me he hath hired the coach against that time, and hath put off other business which did much concern him on purpose to meet you there, and he should be much disappointed should he fail of his expectation. My service to Mrs. Worthington, whom I [shall] trouble either on Saturday night next week or on Sunday morning. You may assure yourself that if anything falls in Mr. Wren's power to pleasure you, you will find him your friend.

For his honourable friend Dr. Worthington, at Ditton.

[From Mr. F. Theobald.]

Good Sir,

Were it not that you did express yourself very solicitous to hear from me, I should have omitted writing to you hâc vice, because Dr. Stephens hath promised to give you a full account of his proceedings. I spoke with him this morning, and he tells me that the way is plain before him, and he meets with no obstruction at all in his business. He hath the presentation from the Bishop, and his instrument of institution is preparing, and for the rest of the particulars I shall refer you to his letter. I pray set out so timely for Norwich that you may not fail to meet me on Friday next, for I shall leave some business purposely to come to you, and therefore if I should not find you there it would be a great disappointment to me. I shall enlarge no further, but that God may bless your undertaking is the prayer of

Your most real friend and servant,

London, 22nd May, 1663.

Fra. Theobald.

My service I pray to your good lady.

Dr. Stephens in a Letter May 22, 1663.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

Mine yesterday gave you an account that my instruments were preparing. I can now assure you that the Bishop hath given me the presentation to Ditton. I am advised by my counsel not to take admission till your institution be sealed; otherwise I may be subject to the disturbance of any hereafter that will plead a plenarty. I desire you therefore to make all the haste you can to Norwich, that you may get the Bishop's fiat on Tuesday, and then you will easily persuade the Registrar to make such haste with your instrument that you may be admitted on Wednesday morning. On this I will so far presume, that I will take my institution that afternoon, and come down in the Cambridge coach on Thursday. I had much discourse with my Lord of Ely about you, in which I assure you I did you no bad offices.—¹

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

Apr. 16, 1663. I preached at Ditton forenoon and afternoon, and administered the Sacrament.

May 3. I preached at Ditton, &c.

May 5. I came to Barking.

May 7. I went thence and came to Chelmsford.

May 8. I came to London.

May 10. Mr. Brooksbank preached for me at Ditton.

May 17. Mr. Hoard preached for me at Ditton.

¹ The two papers next copied in the manuscript merely relate to the arrangement between Worthington and Stephens as to the apportionment of the tithes of Ditton, and therefore have been omitted.

May 20. I came out of London. May 21. I came home safe. Laus Deo. May 24. I preached at Ditton [twice].

May 25. I went from Ditton and came to Norwich.

May 27. I was instituted to Moulton (sine curâ) and Barking in Suffolk. May 28. I took possession of Moulton. May 30. I took possession of Barking. May 31. I preached at Barking on Ephes. v. 1, 2.

June 1. I returned to Ditton. (Laus Deo.)

June 1, 14, 21. I preached at Ditton, and Jun. 28 and Jul. 5, 12.

Jun. 18. My wife awakened about half an hour past one, and a quarter before three she was delivered of a son : none being with her but the two maids, Mrs. Thurlow, and Goody Balls, and the mid-wife Goody Coat, who was sent for in haste, Mrs. Nutting not coming soon enough.

Jun. 26. My son John Worthington was baptized by my cousin Kenion, John Willys Esq. and Paul Whichcote Esq. being god-fathers, and the Lady Willys godmother.

Jul. 19. I preached at Barking. Jul. 26. Uxor was churched. Jul. 26, Aug. 2, 9. I preached at Ditton. Aug. 13. I preached a funeral sermon. Aug. 16, 23. I preached at Ditton, and Sept. 13 and 20, forenoon and afternoon.

To his Rev. and worthy friend Dr. Worthington, at Ditton, &c.

[From Dr. Stephens.]

Good Sir,

By your last I find you had designed a journey this week, if your expectance of me had not deferred it. I have now received a letter from my honourable lord the Lord Cornwallis,¹ who commands my stay this week, because he comes down with the Master

¹ Charles, second son of Lord Cornwallis, who was elected one of the Members for the borough of Eye to the Parliament which restored King Charles II. He succeeded to the barony on his father's death in 1662, and died in 1673.

of the Rolls¹ and others, whom I am obliged to wait upon. That I may not therefore disappoint your purposed journey, it is just to let you know that I shall not be able to wait upon [you] till next week, when I hope to see you. You and your good lady have much obliged me by your civil invitation of my wife, who returns her thanks and service, and assures you, if she be fit to travel, she will trouble [you]. Last Friday Dr. Whichcote, &c., gave me the honour of a visit, and discovered some doubts that Ditton might be otherwise disposed of. But quit your fears. Some propositions have been made, I confess, but never assented to, and if I should be overpowered by the commands of my superiors (as I think I shall not) be assured nothing shall be acted to your prejudice; for the world shall say that I am an honest man, and, Sir,

Your very faithful servant,
Tho. Stephens.

Bury St. Edm., Aug. 10, 1663.

[MS. Notes.]

I shall leave 100 sheets undone,² though I strive all I can. I have done above 200.

¹ The Master of the Rolls was the Patron of Bishop Burnet, the long-lived Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who died in 1683 on the verge of ninety. In the commencement of his public life he supported the Republican party and signalized himself by an acrimonious speech against Archbishop Laud. When the tide set in for the recall of King Charles II. he became one of its ardent promoters, and was chosen Speaker in the House of Commons which met April 25th, 1660, and Master of the Rolls in November in the same year. He was a good lawyer, and performed the duties of his office with great respectability, and Burnet, his chaplain, has emblazoned his virtues. In the House of Commons he was a frequent speaker on questions affecting religion, and the illustrations of his speeches, if homely, must be admitted to be forcible. In the debate, April 4th, 1677, on the bill for preserving the Protestant religion, he observes, that "he believes gentlemen design mending this bill to attain the end; but when it comes back it will prove an unsavoury thing stuck with a primrose," and "we may as soon make a good fan out of a pig's tail as a good bill out of this."

² Of his edition of Mede.

People speak with tears, and I am condoled with by several in the University. Aug. 1663.¹

Sept. 27. I preached on Eccl. 12, 13, my last Sermon at Ditton.

Conclusion of the last sermon :

I know not of any one practical truth, or needful point, but I have insisted on it. I began to preach to you first of the preciousness and worth of your souls (which are immortal and must live in eternity). Afterwards I preached of the four last things, of Repentance, of Faith, of the Creed, of the Decalogue, of the Lord's Prayer, of Christ's Sermon on the Mount; besides the four first chapters of Matthew and other Scriptures and the Epistles in the afternoon. I thought to have gone over all Matthew. I may say with St. Paul in Acts 24, I have declared to you the whole counsel of God.

Sept. 28, 1663. I came away with my family from Ditton to Christ's College.

Sept. 29. We came to Bishop's Stortford. Sept. 30. To Bednal Green² by London.

At Ditton when I removed I left my books in the granary, done up in five barrells, less or greater, and three boxes, picture of the Queen of Bohemia, &c.

Oct. 6, 1663. My wife, John, and the maid, went to Frogmore.

Oct. 11. I preached at Blackfriars, London. Oct. 12. I went to Frogmore. Oct. 16. I returned to Bednal Green. Nov. 17. I came from Bednal Green with my family and goods, and lay in Gresham College. Nov. 18. I went to Frogmore. Nov. 24. I came from thence. Dec. 18. I went to Frogmore. Dec. 28. I came back from Frogmore.

Dr. Stephens in a Letter Dec. 23, 1663.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

— You had heard from me before this time, had I not expected you in the country to settle your affairs at Barking

¹ On his removal from Ditton.

² Where Dr. Whichcote then was.

after you had placed your family in London. The first thing greeted me at Ditton was an excommunication against an inhabitant for not coming to church. The churchwardens pressed earnestly upon me to publish it that Sunday. But I suspended it (as I might) and desired leave to speak to the party. He appeared to offend not out of faction, but a wretched irreligious neutrality. After some exhortations he promised an amendment; whereupon I paid his fees and got him absolved. I hope I shall hear no more of that nature; for I assure you, Sir, as your Christian charity and conversation amongst them had obliged them to a grateful sense of it, and made them, as you say, much affected at your departure, so the chief of them (and all for aught I have heard) have expressed themselves as much affected at my resolution to reside upon the place. I wish I may live to be esteemed deserving to succeed so worthy a person as yourself. —

1663-4.

Jan. 1, 1663-4. I went from London. Jan. 2. I came to Barking in Suffolk. Jan. 3. I preached at Barking. Jan. 10. I preached at Barking twice. Jan. 11. I came from Barking.

Jan. 12. To London. Laus Deo.

Jan. 24. I preached once at Benett Fynk.

To Mrs. Worthington [from Dr. Worthington].

My Dear,

I am glad to find thee still in a continued temper of indifferency as to these outward things. It is the great lesson of humanity to be resigned to the will of God in all things; and to be

perfect in this lesson is a great step to perfection, is the way to inward peace and quietness of spirit, and it is the right spirit of a Christian. God grant that we may abound in this and every other grace; we shall be no losers by it. I like thy careful advice, though I am not (and I hope shall not be) over solicitous about any earthly things. I have had one or two places here mentioned to me, but I like not the circumstances; that which I am in expectation to hear about is better conditioned, and such as thou wilt like. My Lord Lauderdale and another wrote about it last week. There is also another place that is mentioned, but the difficulties in the way seem more. To be useful in the world and most free is more in my desire than height and greatness, which I undervalue and despise in respect of the other. I have considered that things may fall out otherwise than friends endeavour and desire for me, and I hope to be as free from trouble then as now.

Thine always,

Feb. 1, 1663-4.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

Feb. 5. I went to Frogmore. Feb. 10. I came back to London. Feb. 21, 28, and Mar. 6. I preached at Blackfriars.

March 7. I came to Sion College. Mar. 13, 20, 27. I came to Blackfriars. Mar. 29. I went to Frogmore. Apr. 4. Returned to London.

Mrs. Worthington to Dr. Worthington.

My Dear,

I could wish thou hadst never took Barking, unless you could discharge your duty there. If your mind is quit from it, so you think you may be more serviceable in another place, I am very free; only I would desire thus much, that you will be sure to get one that truly fears God and will look after the good of the people,

your everlasting estates, and dwell amongst them, so as to gain by life as well as by preaching. I never was with them, yet I do much desire that they may reap some benefit by your taking it. John is very merry and lively, and dancing with Mr. Winch when his sister sleeps.

Yours always,

March 23, 1663-4.

Mary Worthington.

Apr. 7, 1664. I went out of London and came to Keldon in Essex. Apr. 8. I came to Barking. Apr. 10, Easter Day. I preached at Barking and administered the Sacrament, and in the afternoon. Apr. 14. I came from Barking to Whitham. Apr. 15. I came to London. Laus Deo.

Apr. 17. I preached for Dr. Wilkins at St. Lawrence's. Apr. 24. I preached at Blackfriars. 1664.

In a Letter April 20, 1664.

[From Mrs. Worthington to Dr. Worthington.]

— How is Barking? Doth he perform well that is there?

You seem to speak as though you could not well come, and must double your labour to get to an end. I shall be glad of thy company, but desire not thy hurt. Pray do not labour too hard. When thou art minded to come, I will find thee a bed and bedfellow. Be careful of thyself, and study not too late at nights.¹

¹ There needs no other witness than these two letters to satisfy us that Worthington was happy in his marriage. They bring before us most forcibly the religious, affectionate, and careful wife (without disparagement, be it remarked, to modern excellence) of the days of our forefathers.

- Apr. 23. I went to Frogmore.
Apr. 26. On Tuesday night between 10 and 11 died my father-in-law, Chr. Whichcote Esq., at Frogmore.
Apr. 29. My father-in-law was buried.
May 2. I came to London.
-

To Mrs. Worthington, at Frogmore.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

My Dear,

Thine I have received. I have written at large to Sir Jeremy Whichcote about taking the executorship,¹ and that order might be sent them about paying funeral debts and receiving moneys for the sale of goods, &c. Else, if he thinks of any other to sell and pay out, and if they being in the country may not be of use, and to do service to relations, that he would intimate so much, that I may have thee and the children with me at London. I have met with friends who are very thoughtful how to accommodate me with a suitable place, and hope it will not be long. No more now, but that I am

Thine always,

May 4, 1664.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

May 8. I preached at Blackfriars. May 15. I preached at St. Saviour's, Southwark.

May 28. I went to Sir Jeremy Whichcote's house at Hendon.
May 29. I preached at Hendon twice. Jun. 1. I came from Hendon to London. Jun. 9. I preached at Benet Fynk and at Blackfriars. June 7. I went to Frogmore. June 9. I brought my family thence to London.

¹ Of Worthington's father-in-law, Christopher Whichcote.

In a Letter to Dr. Whichcote, an. 1668.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

—In my tedious and lonesome journeys between London and Suffolk in winter, and my painful and solitary living at Gresham College, God did preserve and comfort me and renew my strength, that might have been consumed. — My removing from Cambridge to Ditton was but light; but my removing thence to London and Frogmore and back again, with much of my goods and family, was more pressing.

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanacks.]

Jun. 12, 1664. I preached at Benet Fynk. Jun. 19. I preached at Benet Fynk and at St. Lawrence's. Jun. 22. I was troubled with gripings, and kept my bed till noon. Jun. 26. I preached at Benet Fynk. Jul. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, Aug. 7, 14, 21, 28, Sept. 4, 11, 18, 25, Oct. 2, 9, 16, 23. I preached at Benet Fynk. Nov. 5, 13. I preached at Benet Fynk and Nov. 20. Dr. Wyndet¹ died this morning.

Nov. 27, Dec. 4, 11, 18, 25. I preached at Benet Fynk. Collected for the poor £1 9s. 0d. and £0 13s. 0d.

¹ James Windet, M.D. "1664. Nov. 20, died Dr. James Windett, M.D., at his house in Milk-street; buried there." — Smith's Obituary; Peck's Des. Cur. Book xiv. p. 37, fol. ed. "He was a good Latin poet, a most excellent linguist, a great Rabbi, a curious critic, and rather shaped for divinity than the faculty he professed." — Wood's Fasti, vol. ii. col. 112. He was the very learned author of the treatise *De Vitâ functorum statu*, Lond. 1663, 4to, reprinted by Crenius at Rotterdam (1694, 12mo) in his collection of Tracts.

Dr. Cudworth in a Letter Sept. 8, 1664.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

- I have been desired both by some at Cambridge and some others at London to print that sermon¹ which I preached last at Lincoln's Inn, which I had preached before at St. Mary's; which I would not do unless I should dedicate it to my Lord of Canterbury.² But I cannot tell whether it be not absurd to do so, because it was not preached before him. But there are some obligations upon me, and some prudential reasons why I should make some public acknowledgment of my obligations to him, and I have nothing else in readiness, or like to be. For besides his presenting me to a living, I owe my station here merely to his favour, there having [been] a great conspiracy and plot laid not long since, when he was much assaulted also and set upon by divers for his concurrence; but he alone diverted the business at that time. If you think it not incongruous, I will send up the sermon to you to read over and correct. The Bishop of Ely was at the whole charge of the Chancellor's entertainment.³ He made a sumptuous dinner, but neither the Vice-Chancellor nor any of the Heads were invited. At night the Heads went to visit the Bishop, and to thank him for his respect to the University, and presented him with the Latin History of England well bound.

¹ His Sermon upon 1 Cor. xv. 57. It was published in 1664, 4to, but as there is no dedication in my copy of that date, or in the subsequent edition in 1676, folio (with his Sermon on 1 John, ii. 3-4, and Discourse on the Lord's Supper), it is to be presumed that the intended dedication did not appear. Cudworth's published sermons are noble compositions. How deeply it is to be regretted that more of them have not survived.

² Sheldon, of whom see vol. i. p. 28.

³ At Cambridge.

Dr. More in a Letter Sept. — 1664.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

— I easily believe that was the mistake of the graver that you intimate. I was in a merry pin when I made Mr. Mede look so like a Count and Commander of an army. For the portliness of his body and largeness of his face he might be so indeed; but there was that modesty and melancholy and sedate seriousness in his look that did speak him a scholar, more than this graver could hit upon it seems.¹

For my worthy friend Mr. Evans² these, at Windsor Castle.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

Sir,

Yours I received last night late, at my return from the

¹ It does not clearly appear to what Dr. Henry More refers, as no portrait of Mede was engraved. His biographer gives the following description of his person: "His body was of a comely proportion, rather of a tall than low stature. In his younger years (as he would say) he was but slender and spare of body, but afterwards, when he was full grown, he became more fat and portly, yet not to any such excess as did diminish, but rather increased, the goodliness of his presence to a comely decorum. His eye was full, quick, and sparkling. His whole countenance composed to a sedate seriousness and gravity; *Majestas et Amor* were well met here — an awful majesty, but withal an inviting sweetness. His complexion was a little swarthy, as if somewhat over tintured with melancholy, which yet rather seemed to serve the design of his studious mind than to clog it with those infirmities which commonly attend the predominancy of that humour." — *Life*, prefixed to Mede's works, edit. 1664, folio, pp. 58–9.

² George Evans, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, afterwards a Canon of Windsor and Rector of Hicham in Berkshire. He took his degree of D.D., and died March 2, 1701, being then seventy-two years of age. He was licensed preacher at St. Benet Fink, from 1663 to June 1693, when he resigned to his son, George Evans, who was curate there in 1700. — (*Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 916.) Dr. Worthington seems to have officiated for him at St. Benet Fink, to the time of the fire of London.

Dean¹ of Paul's funeral. Dr. Gunning² preached upon Philip i. 21, 22, 23, 24. He mentioned £300 given by his will to St. John's

¹ Dr. John Barwick was born at Witherslack in Westmoreland, where he is still spoken of as the good Dean Barwick, and where the house in which he first saw the light is yet pointed out, on the 20th April, 1612, and after a life spent in most active exertion to promote the Royal cause, died Dean of St. Paul's on the 22nd October, 1664. Few biographical works are fuller of interesting materials than the life of this excellent man, written in Latin (1721, 8vo) by his brother, Dr. Peter Barwick, which has been translated into English and published with valuable notes and additions by Hilkiah Bedford. Dr. John Barwick was the able manager of the King's secret correspondence during the Usurpation, and conducted that important province with the greatest courage, ingenuity, and sagacity. Were all his "hair-breadth" escapes and all his prompt and clever expedients during the period in which he was so employed duly recorded, probably no history of adventures ever written would be more amusing. His constitution seems to have been as elastic as his spirit. He was dying of phthisis and atrophy when imprisonment in a close dungeon in the Tower seems to have effected a perfect cure and sent him out plump and in good condition, to the astonishment of the doctors. To subdue such a man was evidently impossible; he bore a charmed life, and against all odds and managres all casualties must inevitably carry out the ends of his commission. He left by his will the greater part of his estate to charitable uses. "St. Paul's, that noble structure," and St. John's College were remembered; but neither was the little chapel amidst his native hills and "winding scars," which he had re-edified in his lifetime, forgotten. The children of the poor of the village of Witherslack were to be instructed, their daughters to be portioned, the highways to be repaired; nor was the interment of the dead, for which he directed a place to be provided, uncared for. To the Curate of Witherslack he leaves a stipend, and enjoins "that he be diligent in catechising the children and servants of the inhabitants publicly in the chapel, that he instruct the said inhabitants out of the Homilies of the Church, but that he do not presume to preach unless he be found sufficiently enabled and thereunto licensed by the Bishop." The chapel, in one of the picturesque vallies of Westmoreland, still bears its record to him, who may be considered its founder: and the writer had no slight pleasure, some years ago, in contemplating the inscription which perpetuates the name of this loyal subject, sound divine, and pious christian. As an author, he is principally remembered by his excellent funeral sermon on Bishop Morton, which, with his accompanying life of that prelate, including a very accurate list of his works, was published Lond. 1660, 4to. The able tract entitled "Certain Disquisitions and Considerations, representing to the conscience the Unlawfulness of the Solemn League and Covenant," Oxf. 1644, 4to, was written by Dr. Barwick, in conjunction with William Lacey, Isaac Barrow, Seth Ward, Edmund Boldero, William Quarles, and Peter Gunning, — a formidable league against the League and Covenant.

² Peter Gunning was born at Hoo, in Kent, in 1618, and died July 6, 1684. At

College. All the speech is that Dr. Sandcroft¹ is to be Dean of Paul's. I thank you for your enclosed, which I delivered to Mr. Royston, who told me here before that he could send it by Mr. Jerom, whom he knows well. I hear nothing of any such employment as Dr. Birstal mentioned about the library. I remember somewhat of placing the books in the University library, and I am sure it was not so exact as it should be for placing books homogenial according to their seniority, as the books were placed in Jesus College library and in yours. Dr. Cudworth's sermon is not yet finished. Some have written to him to add two or three more to it. If so, it would make a handsome volume. I send you Dr. More's volume; it is perfect, and one better bound than usually. Since I saw you I heard that the Registrar spake to one that he had not seen my license to preach, and that he thought the Bishop would send to me. But having occasion to speak with his Chaplain, I took that opportunity to show him the license, which he said was sufficient, and that he would speak to the Registrar that he saw it. If I had time I would visit Mr. Jerome myself, but I have not any leisure for any by-business, except it be very urgent. I would gladly finish all this term if it be possible. I have ventured my health and denied myself as to my ease and advantages that I might serve

both the universities, for he was first of Cambridge and afterwards of Oxford, he distinguished himself by his high character for learning and ability and zeal in supporting the King's cause. On the Restoration he was made Master of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, and afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity, and Master of St. John's on the resignation of Dr. Tuckney. In 1670 he became Bishop of Chichester, and in 1674 was translated to Ely. He took a leading part in the Savoy Conference (see vol. i. p. 284), and has accordingly been attacked by several Nonconformist writers. Bishop Burnet, whose prejudices render him a very suspicious authority, censures him severely for his conduct on that occasion, but "sophistry," which he attributes to Gunning, with the good Bishop is often only another term for argument on a different side of the question to that which he himself espoused. A list of Bishop Gunning's tracts will be found in Chalmers's Biog. Dict. The best is, perhaps, his Paschal, or Lent Fast, Apostolical and Perpetual (Lond. 1662, 4to), which has lately been republished; but it may be doubted whether any of them fully realize the idea which his contemporaries appear to have entertained of his ability and argumentative powers.

¹ See, as to Sandcroft, vol. i. p. 28.

the public herein, labouring day and night herein with an eye to the good of others and the reward in the life to come. And as for this present life, I desire in the use of due means to trust that merciful providence whereof I have had experience in several passages of my life. God can influence some, and in his good time open a way for subsistence. By what I yet find, I cannot see but our expenses will be beyond our receipts; and yet we are as frugal, both for diet and apparel, as we can be. I would not for the increase of receipts multiply cares, as considering that one cure of souls is province enough, and that it is a hard thing so to discharge one as to give a comfortable and faithful account thereof at the great tribunal of Christ. I have not yet received a penny from that living in Suffolk, and were it a greater thing, I should not dare to keep it with another. I have written to one who I think would be very useful in the place, to know how he would like it upon my leaving it. I hope your letter will be sent for France this night by the post. I shall be glad to see Dr. Brideoak,¹ who, as you write, will favour me with a visit at his return to London. So with mine and my wife's respects to you and yours, I rest

Yours affectionately,

J. Worthington.

October 28, 1664.

¹ Ralph Brideoak, the son of Richard Brideoak, of Cheetham Hill, Manchester, by Cicily, daughter of John Booth, Esq., of the county of Chester, was born in the year 1614. He was educated at the Free Grammar School of Manchester, of which he afterwards became Master, and was admitted a student of Brasenose College, Oxford, on the 15th July, 1630. Whatton, in his *History of the Manchester School*, p. 88, gives a full account of his career, which ended in his obtaining, through the Duchess of Portsmouth's influence, and, as Anthony Wood pretty plainly intimates, by bribes administered to her, the bishopric of Chichester, with which he was permitted to hold in commendam a canonry of Windsor and the valuable rectory of Standish in Lancashire. He died on the 5th of October, 1678, and was interred at St. George's Chapel at Windsor. Manchester has little reason to be proud of having given birth to this Bishop. The mitre cannot sanctify meanness, covetousness, and secularity. It is a relief to turn from such a man to the other native of Manchester, whose inmost thoughts and wishes are before us, and whose spirit was so different to that of his busy, bustling, fawning, elbowing, grasping contemporary.

In a Letter to Mr. Evans, Nov. 9, 1664.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

- There is little news here. I hear Dr. Ingelo returns to-morrow, so you will have the news (what there is) from him. I have no time to stir abroad to enquire or to hear any such matters, being in the paroxysm of my business; and I would velocius movere in fine, being desirous to be at rest. There are only five sheets as yet printed of Dr. Cudworth's sermon.
-

Dr. Cudworth in a Letter Nov. 5 and Nov. 9, 1664.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

- Yours I received, but have been extraordinary busy. That sheet which you sent is very well done. Nov. 5. Nov. 9. Good neighbour, I have sent an epistle to the Archbishop. I wish the sermon might be printed off with all speed, and this epistle if you like it. —
-

In a Letter to Mr. Evans, Nov. 12, 1664.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

- I perceive now that Dr. Cudworth will not at this time add any sermons more. I have earnestly pressed him (laying other things aside) to despatch his studies upon Daniel's Weeks,¹ the most considerable place in the

¹ This has never been published, and still exists amongst Oudworth's manuscripts in the British Museum. The title of the work states it to be "Upon Daniel's Prophecy of the LXX Weeks, wherein all the Interpretations of the Jews are considered and confuted, with several of some learned Christians." In two volumes, folio. Dr. Henry More observes, in his preface to his Grand Mystery of Godliness, that "Dr. Cudworth, in that discourse, which was read in the Public Schools of the University,

Testament for the interest of Christianity. Dr. Sparrow¹ is Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Boldero² was pricked with him. I desire you in a line or two to hint to me what you intended to write but [would] rather reserve till coming, because it may haply be of use to me to know it sooner.

Dr. Cudworth to Dr. Worthington.

Good neighbour,

I sent yesterday an epistle to my Lord of Canterbury; but my meaning was and is, that you would be pleased to consider first, and advise, whether it be desirable to dedicate a sermon to him that was not preached before him. I think I proposed that scruple to you once before. Secondly, whether you conceive that form which

had undeceived the world, which had been misled too long by the over great opinion they had of Joseph Scaliger, and that, taking Funocius's Epochæ, he had demonstrated the manifestation of the Messiah to have fallen out at the end of the sixty-ninth week, and his passion in the midst of the last, in the most natural and proper sense thereof—which demonstration of his is of as much price and worth in theology as either the circulation of the blood in phisic or the motion of the earth in natural philosophy." When shall we have a publication of Cudworth's existing Remains by an editor who shall bring to that long-delayed and most necessary duty the judgment, learning, diligence, and affectionate care which Worthington has displayed in collecting and combining the precious Tracts and Fragments of Smith and of Mede!

¹ Sparrow is noticed vol. i. p. 5.

² Edmund Boldero, a native of Bury St. Edmunds, and who became Master of Jesu College in Cambridge in May, 1663. See a notice of him in "Historia Collegii Jesu Cantabrigiensis a J. Shermanno," Lond. 1840, 8vo, pp. 42-3. Dr. Boldero had been a follower of Mars as well as Mercury. He had fought for his Royal Master both with his pen and his sword. His learning was considerable, and his courage equal to any emergency. He had been present with the great Montrose in all his adventures, and was so accomplished a prison breaker that chains and dungeons were but sport to him. Jack Sheppard and Vidocq scarcely surpassed the exploits of this worthy and gallant head of Jesus. His biographer observes: "Novis indies vinculis onustus, quasi nullis teneri, de carcere in carcerem raptus, quasi nullo claudi poterat. Quorum tamen vel ipsa nomina catenam conficerent quæ mehercule vel ipsum Herculem constringerent," p. 43. What a contrast to the quiet and peaceable career of his predecessor, Worthington!

I sent be unexceptionable, or need any alteration. Before the epistle be sent to the press I pray you do this ; for if you and others think it incongruous to dedicate a sermon to him not preached before him, I would not do it.¹ But the machinations of some here against me and my friends made me not unwilling to dedicate it to the Archbishop (if there be no absurdity or incongruity in it because it was not preached before him) the rather indeed because of a certain compliment in a letter of mine to him formerly, when they attempted to engage him against me in order to the displacing of me, which made me a debtor of some public acknowledgment. If you see Dr. Wilkins or Mr. Tillotson,² pray ask their opinion. With my kind respects I remain

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Nov. 10, 1664.

R.[alph] C.[udworth.]

¹ Dr. Cudworth's scruple, whether well or ill founded, was at least not entertained by Dr. Parr, who, as I recollect, dedicated a Fast Sermon to two Bishops who had not heard it preached.

² Mr. (afterwards Archbishop) Tillotson seems to have been in habits of the closest intimacy with Worthington and his friends. The life of this excellent prelate (of whom it has been said, by one who knew him well, that "he taught by sermons more ministers to preach well and more people to live well, than any other man since the Apostles' days," and who dying left no property behind him except a copy of his posthumous sermons, which was sold for two thousand five hundred guineas,—a fact, observes an amusing writer, almost as extraordinary as that an Archbishop should die without money) has been written by Birch with his usual accuracy and fullness of information, but with more than his usual heaviness. (Lond. 1752, 8vo). The memoirs by Beardmore, Tillotson's first pupil, subjoined to Birch's Life, are decidedly the most pleasing portion of the volume. Haugh-end, in the township of Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, has the honour of being the Archbishop's birth-place, his baptism taking place at the Parish Church on the 8rd October, 1630. He died on the 22nd November, 1694, deeply and universally lamented. So much has been written in reference to Tillotson, and his character is so well understood that it would be superfluous to give any extended notice of him. He was for a long time after his death generally regarded as the pattern-writer of sermons, and it is much to be questioned whether we do not owe something of that lower style which so strongly marks a large proportion of the pulpit compositions of the last century to the strong influence of his example. Fully admitting their merits as clear and rational discourses, yet surely, when we compare Tillotson's sermons with those of his immediate predecessors, irregular, unequal, even extravagant, and unpruned as the

In a Letter to Mr. Evans Nov. 18, 1664.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

- Dr. Cudworth's sermon had been finished ere this but that the death of old Mr. Flesher¹ (who died suddenly in his bed) hath hindered the printing work for this week. This night he is buried. To-morrow they return to their trade again. Jacobus Acontius² was worth your

latter frequently are, we still find as striking and essential a difference as between the "trim gardens" described by our great poet, and that other scene which he depicts of vaster range and more majestic character, where

"Overhead up grew
Insuperable heighth of loftiest shade
Cedar and pine and firr and branching palm
A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view: yet higher than their tops
The verdurous wall of Paradise up sprung."

¹ "1664. Nov. 18. This morning died Mr. Miles Fletcher [Flesher] printer, being well at seven of the clock." — Smith's Obituary; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, book xiv. p. 37, folio edition.

² Of this acute and ingenious native of Trent, who came into England and died here in or about 1566, though noticed by Bayle and in the General and other Biographical Dictionaries, and Strype's *Life of Grindall*, one would be very glad to have fuller information than has yet been given. All that we have of him shows a mind far in advance of his own age, and which, had time and opportunity been afforded, might have achieved extraordinary performances. Queen Elizabeth gave him a pension as an engineer, and he dedicated to her his treatise, "*De Stratagematibus Satanae in religionis negotio*, Lib. viii." first printed at Basle in 1565, 12mo, and afterwards often reprinted and translated into most European languages. His other works consist of an excellent treatise *De Methodo sive rectâ investigandarum artium ratione libellus*, Basle, 1558, 8vo; a short but valuable Letter, addressed to Wolfius, dated London, Dec. 1562, *de ratione edendorum librorum*, printed at the end of some editions of his *Stratagemata*; and his *Ars muniendorum oppidorum* in Italian and Latin, published at Geneva in 1585. He had made some progress in a treatise on Logic, but though he did not intend to make it a long one, yet he felt that it required much time and consideration, for, observes he, "*nec tam certe vereor eorum qui regnare nunc videntur judicia quam exorientem quandam sæculi adhuc paulo cultioris lucem pertimesco.*" He notices the difficulty "*nova inventa latinis verbis exprimendi*, homini præsertim qui bonâ vitæ parte inter Bartoli, Baldi, et ejus farinæ hominum sordes consumptâ, multisque annis aulicæ vitæ sero admodum ad politiores musas

reading. I thought so many years since, though one in print did declaim against the translation of part of the book that was printed (the rest was also finished but not printed, and I think Mr. Hartlib had it) and the Assembly did snib [snub] Mr. Dury for writing a preface to the English translation.¹ The Latin one that I

accessit," from which it appears that he had passed a great part of his life in law studies and at court. His *Stratagemata Satanae* has been as highly praised and as bitterly decried as any production of the sixteenth century. It was, perhaps, the first work which threw out a brilliant and clear light on the subject of toleration, and, as such, its value to mankind has been incalculable.

¹ The history of this translation is curious. In 1631 the Latin work was published at Oxford in 12mo, and in March, 1647-8, a translation of the first four books into English appeared, under the title of "*Satan's Stratagems, or the Devil's Cabinet Council discovered, whereby he endeavours to hinder the knowledge of the truth through many delusions; by Jacobus Acontius, a learned and godly divine, banished for the Gospel*;" London, printed for John Macock, 1648, 4to, pages 136, exclusive of introductory matter. Who was the translator is not stated, but to the tract is prefixed a recommendatory letter from John Goodwin, and another from John Dury. John Goodwin's address is written in his usual vein of masculine and nervous eloquence. Of Acontius he observes: "I have not met with any author comparable to this for a Christian genius and dexterity in teaching that desirable and happy art, as well of composing differences in matters of judgment, as far as a composure in this kind may with the honour of truth be admitted, as of opposing that which is not meet to be admitted to composition." He concludes his epistle by a fervent wish. "*The Father of Light and God of Truth, according to the unsearchable riches of his grace in Christ, break up at last all the fountains of the great deep of Truth and open the windows of heaven that knowledge may fill the earth as waters cover the sea.*" John Dury in his letter praises the author as "an excellent man, and thoroughly knowing in many sciences; his excellency did lie in the depth and solidity of his judgment in every thing, and in the piety and moderation of his spirit in matters of religion." He further remarks with truth: "To be carried along with the stream, or to be silent when matters are not carried according to our mind is no hard matter to any that hath any measure of discretion; but to row against the stream, to labour against wind and tide and the whole current of an age, and that without offence unto any, and that strongly and irresistibly, as in his age Acontius did, is not the work of an ordinary courage: therefore such as own him in his way are the more to be commended." The publication of this translation, with the testimonies in its favour, called up the turbulent and inquiet spirit of Francis Cheynel. He had baited to death the illustrious Chillingworth, and was still on the search for new books to denounce and new heretics to drag to light and discovery. He gives an account of his

have is not the Oxford ill printed one, but another of a

proceedings in his work, now rather uncommon, entitled "The Divine Trinitie of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," Lond. 1650, 12mo. "About the beginning of March, 1647, there was some part of his (Acontius's) *Stratagems* (translated into English) published in print at London. I confess I was amazed at it, but could not learn who was the translator of it. We were at that time required to look after all books that were pernicious or dangerous, and I did complain to the Reverend Assembly sitting at Westminster, that there was such a book lately published, dedicated to both Houses of Parliament, to the General and Lieutenant-General of all the forces raised for the defence of the Commonwealth. Whereupon the Reverend Assembly chose a committee to peruse the book and report their judgment of it to the Assembly with all convenient speed. Upon perusal of the book we found that the author was recommended by Peter Ramus, but we did not much wonder at that. 1. Because the book is written with much art, and the malignity of it very closely couched. 2. There are many plausible pretences, fair insinuations, and divers religious expressions in it. The man was master of his passions as well as art, or else he had not been such an excellent agent and solicitor in so bad a cause, and so complete a courtier as indeed he was. 3. Acontius spent a great part of his time in the study of the mathematics; he was excellent in the art of fortification; and therefore Peter Ramus might set the higher price upon him. 4. He hath many excellent passages, which are of great use against the papists. But that which we admired at was, that a member of our own Assembly should recommend the book. It was, therefore, desired that Mr. Dury might be added to that committee. When Mr. Dury came amongst us, and saw that he had given too fair a testimony to that subtle piece, he dealt as ingenuously with us as we dealt with him, and assured us that he would be ready to make his retraction as public as his recommendation had been made without his consent, because he clearly saw that they practised upon his passionate love of peace to the great prejudice of truth, and that he was merely drawn in to promote a syncretism beyond the orthodox lines of communication." After remarking upon several passages in Acontius's book, he proceeds: "You may hereby understand the modesty of the man, and cry out as, he did, *En modestiam satis perfrictam, usque ad os impudentiæ perfrictam*. But if his seventh book (which the translator durst not adventure to English till he saw how this would take) had been translated, I need not have said any more for the discovery of this subtle Sir." Cheynel is desired to make a report to the "Reverend Assembly concerning the danger of translating and printing of Acontius in English," which he does at some length (see report in Cheynel's *Divine Trinitie*, pp. 453-6); and "upon these few heads of the report I discoursed somewhat affectionately and freely, according to the weight and moment of the point in question. And thereupon the Reverend Assembly did unanimously desire the Prolocutor to persuade me to print something about that argument, as soon as the heat of our employment was over, for the satisfaction of the kingdom. I was very willing to obey the commands of that Assembly." No doubt he was. His object was

longer paper, and printed beyond sea.¹ I enquired at Little Britain for Palma Christiana. I met with but one that thought he had it. He said it was a stitched book, and must have the more time to look it out. I told him I would call some days hence. Hath Mr. Durell² written to you? or doth he make any stay in

answered, being requested "to print something;" and he accordingly publishes his "Trinunity," a volume of about five hundred pages, and which the title-page expresses to be by "Francis Cheynel, minister of that Gospel which is revealed from heaven by Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the Holy Scriptures of Truth." In his preface he calls upon all statesmen "to beware of a toleration of intolerable errors, and informs them that Rev. Mr. Cotton is afraid that Antichrist will steal in at the back door of a toleration." Such was the denouncer of Acontius, whom Worthington alludes to in mentioning "that one in print did declaim against the translation." Dury did not show as much firmness and consistency under the "snubbing" he received as might have been wished, but it must be remembered that the report of what occurred proceeds from a most violent partizan.

¹ Probably the Basle edition of 1618, 8vo, which is the best, and includes Acontius's *letter de ratione edendorum librorum*.

² John Durell was a native of the Isle of Jersey, and was born in 1625. He was entered at Merton College, Oxford, but shortly after the commencement of the Civil Wars went abroad and spent several years in France and Jersey. On the Restoration he returned to England, and was instrumental in setting up the new Episcopal French Church at the Savoy in London. In February, 1664, he was made a Canon, and in 1677 Dean of Windsor, and died in June, 1683. Wood gives him the honourable testimony that "he was a person of unbiassed and fixed principles, untainted and steady loyalty, as constantly adhering to the sinking cause and interest of his Sovereign in the worst of times, who dared with an unshaken and undaunted resolution to stand up and maintain the honour and dignity of the English Church when she was in her lowest and most deplorable condition." — (*Athenæ, Oxon.* iv. p. 90.) His *Sermon in Defence of the Liturgy of the Church of England*, 1661, 4to, — his "*View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, wherein is shown their conformity with the Church of England," 1662, 4to, — and his "*Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*," 1669, 4to, are undeniable evidences of his learning and ability. He was fiercely attacked, amongst other adversaries, by Henry Hickman, in his "*Apologia pro ministris (vulgo) Nonconformistis*," 12mo, and his (for there can be no doubt of the authorship) *Bonasus Vapulans*, 1672; and by Dr. Lewis du Moulin in his *Patronus bonæ Fidei*, 1672, 12mo, a curious and now scarce work. With respect to both of his answers it may be said that

—————"the good old rule
Sufficed them, the simple plan"

France? I had a letter from Mr. Madock, who is settled in the same house at Rouen where Monsieur Le Moyne¹ is dieted, from whom also I had an account of what I wished Mr. Madock to enquire of. Le Moyne tells me that he has been for a long time endeavouring to purchase Petit's Notes, but in vain. For they would not permit him to see them before he bought them, which he thought was not fair. He speaks honourably of Petit, but doubts not he hath also He hath wrote notes upon Josephus, and complains of the miserable editions that were of him. They at Rouen, after they have despatched somewhat of Origen² in the press, urge to have his Josephus in the press. And they in Holland also solicit for his labours, and upon good terms. And upon some considerations he thinks it were a more prudent course to have them printed in Holland or in England than in France. This is the short of his letter, by which I fear that Petit's Notes are not so perfect as those that would sell them would have men think they are. And it seems that Le Moyne's labours are in readiness for the press. What interest more Mr. Durell may have in Petit's friends I know not. I suppose he is acquainted with Le Moyne (as appears by his book) and if he could prevail with

that, where in controversy a writer cannot easily be answered, the wisest course for his opponent is at once to put aside all argument and begin to revile with all his might and main.

¹ Stephen de Moine. To this very learned French minister of the Protestant religion, who was born at Caen in 1624 and died at Leyden in 1689, we owe the valuable and well-known collection entitled "*Varia Sacra seu Sylloge variorum Opusculorum Græcorum ad rem Ecclesiasticam spectantium*," Leyd. 1685, 2 vols. 4to, and other works of less importance.

² This was Huet's elaborate edition of Origen's Exegetical works, which, however, did not appear till 1668, when it was published at Rouen in two volumes folio. In his autobiography, Huet gives an account, written in his usual pleasing style, of the commencement and progress of that important work. — *Commentarius de rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, pp. 107, 235-44.

Petit's friends, and purchase the Notes at such a price, or near it, as Le Moyne offered or would be willing to give (which he might know by writing to him) [it would be well]: I wish they were in Le Moyne's hands. They are fittest for him. And he having taken so great pains about Josephus (so as to have finished his work, which I knew not before) it would not be well that two editions of the same author should come out near the same time, which would be to the detriment of both or one of them. Howsoever, if Le Moyne cannot have them, it were pity that they should perish, or be sold to the Roman party (and be as bad as lost if they came to finger them) and therefore this opportunity of Mr. Durell's being in France would be prudently improved: there will scarce be such another opportunity for dealing in this matter. If he did correspond with M. Le Moyne, he might best know what is to be done upon the spot. I would not have Le Moyne be in the least disturbed or discouraged in his labours. For that Savoy business, do you know whether it is or will be vacant? What is the duty of the place, and what the value? Do you know who have to do in disposing such places? If they be desirable, they are soon caught up, and perhaps it is by this time if it was vacant. There are some others also that set upon me for a city life; but I tell them, and with truth, that this alone will not do. . . . Mr. Stillingfleet's¹ book is out, it is above 600 pages; a

¹ The work referred to is Stillingfleet's *Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion*, being a Vindication of Archbishop Laud's Relation of a Conference between him and John Fisher, from the pretended Answer of T. O. Lond. 1664, folio. The book answered is Thomas Carwell's "*Labyrinthus Cantuariensis*," 1658, folio, one of the ablest and most specious of the Roman Catholic controversial works, a reply to which Stillingfleet, at that time Rector of Sutton, and known by his

large book to be written and printed within a year, and by one that preaches twice a Lord's day.—

Irenicum and Origines Sacrae, was requested to write by Dr. Henchman, Bishop of London. Nothing can show more conclusively Stillingfleet's ready command over his stores of knowledge and the promptitude and vigour of his intellectual powers, which were then in their zenith, than this work, which he dispatched with great expedition, forwarding six or seven sheets to the press each week from the commencement to the conclusion. From this period to the time of his death he appears to have been regarded as the selected champion of the Church of England in Roman Catholic controversy, whose iron flail was always at its service, and as one of its great oracles in ecclesiastical, constitutional, and general learning. So wide is the range of his knowledge and so extensive his grasp, that the six folios in which his works are comprised are in themselves a controversial library, and afford inexhaustible materials of defence, whether Revelation generally, or Protestantism, or the Church of England is the point attacked. His dispute with Locke is the only failure after an uninterrupted career of victory, and one may feel the same sympathy with the venerable combatant, the hero of a hundred fights, who, when assailed by the supple dialectician,

Peccat ad extremum,

as we should if Marlborough had "closed his long glories" with defeat. It is not, however, necessary to believe Whiston's story, which he says he had from Dr. Bentley, that the mortification the Bishop experienced from the result eventually killed him. Like most of Whiston's stories, it will not bear examination, and we will not hold our famous metaphysician as responsible for the death of his great contemporary. Stillingfleet, who was a Fellow of St. John's, is one of the three celebrated divines whom Burnet considers to have been formed in the Cambridge school of Whichcote, Cudworth, More, and Worthington. In doctrine, his agreement with them in essential points is doubtless clear; but in the colours of composition, in the grand characteristics of style which mark their writings,

"Igneus est illis vigor et celestis origo,"

there is little resemblance to be traced in the works of Stillingfleet, who holds his own high rank, but can scarcely be regarded as one who had fully imbibed and himself reflected the peculiar excellencies of that unrivalled school. For a list of his works and the particulars of his life, the reader may be referred to the Life of him, published after his death in 1710, 8vo, which is attributed to Bentley in the manuscript notes to two copies which I possess, evidently written by contemporaries, but clearly without any grounds to warrant such an attribution; and to the Life by Morant in the Biogr. Brit. His death took place on the 27th March, 1699, at the age of sixty-three, after he had been ten years Bishop of Worcester.

For my honourable friend Dr. Worthington, at Mr. Evans's house in Threadneedle Street, near Benet Fynk Church, London.

[From Dr. Cudworth.]

Good neighbour,

I thank you for your great care in correcting those sheets which you sent me. As for the dedication, I confess I should pronounce so at first sight, as Dr. Wilkins for another friend, the case being generally propounded; but there were some peculiar circumstances that made me incline to it. First, that as he was my patron, so there had passed some compliments from me to him in a letter about a year since, upon which he proved my real friend, and disappointed the expectation of many others that had laboured him against me to turn me out by a reference from the King. Secondly, the Bishop of London¹ is much possessed against me and the College (without cause) and therefore I would keep my interest in the Lord of Canterbury. Thirdly, our men are just now machinating new mischief here. Fourthly, as I do excuse the smallness of the thing in the epistle, so I shall do it more effectually in a private letter. Though I may have something of greater bulk to present to him afterwards, yet it will be a great while first; and I shall lose my station before that, unless he stand my friend. Others may possibly mislike the action that know not the circumstances. Wherefore I could wish you would send all the printed sheets, with this enclosed copy of the epistle, and this letter to you, to Dr. Owtram,² who

¹ The Bishop of London was Humphrey Henchman. He had been a zealous royalist, and was one of those who assisted in concealing Charles II. and were instrumental in his escape after the battle of Worcester. He was accordingly rewarded with the bishopric of Salisbury at the Restoration, and was removed to London upon the translation of Sheldon to Canterbury. When the declaration for liberty of conscience was published he was much alarmed, and strictly enjoined his clergy to preach against popery, though it gave great offence to the King. He was editor of the *Gentleman's Calling*, supposed to be written by the author of the "Whole Duty of Man." He died in October, 1675. It does not appear on what grounds the Bishop had become unfavourably disposed to Cudworth and Christ's College.

² William Outram or Owtram was born in Derbyshire in 1625. He became a

knows more of the present circumstances of things how they stand with Christ's College than any body, and wishes well to me and the College, and I believe would not put me upon anything which he thought indecorous; and entreat him impartially to consider all things, and send his judgment; and in the meantime stop the printing of the titlepage. I have not the least ambition for any such thing but so far as the rules of laudable prudence would direct. We are to be visited this day se'nnight. I am

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Nov. 21, 1664.

R. Cudworth.

To his honoured friend Dr. Worthington, &c.

[From Dr. Cudworth.]

I desire that you and Dr. Owtram would determine that business which I referred to you two, and it will please me as well as if I cast the scale myself, and better, knowing that you can judge more indifferently. And I pray send me word speedily, and I will accordingly write a letter for the presenting of it to my Lord of Canterbury, if Dr. Owtram will trouble himself so much. But if the dedication¹ be conceived not so decorous and prudential, then it

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, as he was afterwards of Christ's. In 1670 he was installed Prebendary of Westminster, and was some time Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster. He died in August, 1679. This eminent Divine enjoyed extensive popularity both with Nonconformists and Churchmen. The Twenty Sermons which were published after his death by Dr. Gardiner, the second edition of which appeared in 1697, are rather disappointing, and do not realise the expectations which his name would naturally excite; but his treatise "De Sacrificiis," Lond. 1677, 4to, is one of those masterly performances which cannot be read without high admiration of its author. The learning is so well digested and so happily applied, and brought to bear with such force upon the points of doctrine which he undertakes to prove, that it will always be included in any list of the great standard works in Theology of which this country has just reason to be proud.

¹ The dedication in this case, as not unfrequently happens, seems to have given Cudworth more trouble than the work itself.

must be concealed as much as may be. It pleases God to exercise me with variety of troubles, one upon the neck of another, and I desire to submit to his providence. When will Mr. Mede be finished? Our kind loves to you both. I remain

Your assured friend and servant,

Nov. 24, 1664.

R.[alph] O.[udworth.]

Dr. Cudworth to Dr. Worthington.

Good neighbour,

These are to return you many thanks for your great pains and care about my sermon. I received the copies sent, being ten. I pray remember me kindly to Mr. Royston.¹ I must buy some more of him. I entreat you to let me know the several expenses which you have been at by occasion of my business, and I shall pay the same, being much obliged to you for your trouble besides. I will sometime this week write a few lines to Sir W. Morice.² My other business is not yet ready to begin, but I thank you for your kind offer. I hope you will not leave London before it be in some

¹ This worthy man was the principal publisher for the most eminent Divines of the period, and was respected by all of them. His name on a titlepage may always be taken as a recommendation, for perhaps it would be difficult to show that he ever sent out a bad or valueless book in the whole of his publishing career.

² Sir William Morice, a kinsman of Monk, was Secretary of State during the seven years succeeding King Charles the Second's restoration. He has displayed his learning in an elaborate treatise entitled "The Common Right to the Lord's Supper Asserted," 1651 4to, and 1660 folio; but his familiarity with foreign languages and his knowledge of foreign affairs, two important requisites for sustaining well the office of Secretary of State, were disputed by many of his contemporaries, who were apt to say of him, as was jocularly asserted of a brilliant successor:

"His ignorance of them completely declares

That to him they must ever be — foreign affairs."

He seems to have carried the doctrine of Filmer's "Patriarcha" into private life, for it is recorded of him, "that he would never suffer any man to say grace in his own house besides himself; there he said he was both priest and king."

forwardness. With my affectionate respects to Mrs. Worthington, father Whichcote, and all my friends, I remain

Your assured and obedient servant,
R. Cudworth.

In a Letter to Dr. More, Dec. 2, 1664.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— I received yours the last week. The second was of such news as I wished and hoped for. May every cloud so clear up into fair weather, may every storm blow over, that you may in tranquillitate et secessu perfect your designed studies. Your book of the Soul's Immortality had its birth or growth at Ragley, and so may your Ethics too, which may conduce to a happy immortality. And then we may have cause to salute Ragley woods with that in Pastor Fido,¹ *Care selve beate, e voi solinghi e taciturni orrori, &c.* I wish Dr. Cudworth

¹ "Care selve beate,
E voi solinghi e taciturni orrori,
Di riposo e di pace alberghi veri,
O quanto volentieri
A rivedervi i' torno! e se le stelle
M' avesser dato in sorte,
Di viver' a me stessa, e di far vita
Conforme ale mie voglie,
I' già co' campi Elisi
Fortunato giardin de' Semidei,
La vostra' ombra gentil non cangerei."

— Pastor Fido: Atto secondo, Scena quinta.

Thus pleasingly translated by Sir Richard Fanshaw :

"Dear happy groves, and you ye solitary
And silent horrors where true peace doth tarry,
With how much joy do I review you! And
Had my stars pleased to give me the command

may despatch his in time; but if he should delay, it will not have been amiss that you let your meditations run to the end of their course. Yesterday I delivered your *Mystery of Iniquity*¹ to the Bishop of Winchester.²

Over myself, that I might chuse my lot,
And my own way of life, then would I not
For the Elysian groves, about which range
The happy shades, your happy shades exchange."

— Pastor Fido, translated by Sir R. Fanshaw (edit. Lond. 1664, 8vo), p. 61.

Worthington does not often indulge in a poetical quotation. He had evidently a thorough knowledge of the great poets and a full appreciation of what is finest in their works, and he might therefore have been excused, though a grave theologian, if he had done so more frequently.

¹ "A Modest Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity, the first part containing a careful and impartial Delineation of the true idea of Antichristianism in the real and genuine Members thereof, such as are indeed opposite to the indispensable purposes of the Gospel of Christ and to the Interest of His Kingdom. By H. More, D.D. London: printed by J. Flesher for W. Morden, bookseller in Cambridge, 1664." The second part is entitled "Synopsis Prophetica, containing a compendious Prospect into those Prophecies of the Holy Scripture wherein the reign of Antichrist or the notorious lapse or degeneracy of the Church in all those points comprized in the idea of Antichristianism is prefigured or foretold," with "The Apology of Dr. Henry More." (See vol. i. p. 307.) The work contains 567 pages, exclusive of preface and index. In this work More follows up the principles of interpretation which Joseph Mede had established with reference to the prophetic parts of Scripture, and brings all his learning and power of argument to bear in the application of the prophecies regarding Antichrist, the man of sin, and the woman sitting upon a scarlet coloured beast, to the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding his general agreement with Mede, he differs from him in several points, as, for instance, the exposition of the beast that was and is not, the seventh king, that of the three days and a half, and some others. He attacks with more sharpness than the mildness of his disposition would have prepared us to expect, Grotius, who interpreted the beast, which St. John saw, the Roman pagan idolatry, and Ribera, who expounded it to be intended for the devil. The *Mystery of Iniquity*, which contained an useful "Alphabet of Prophetic Iconisms," with More's following works in explanation of Daniel and the Revelations, have formed a valuable repository for succeeding writers; and though some subordinate parts of them must be rejected as unsound, yet they cannot be regarded as even now superseded, and well deserve consultation by every student of prophetic interpretation.

² Dr. George Morley, see p. 77.

I was brought to him by the Bishop of Exeter,¹ and dined with him. He wished me to return his thanks to you, and said he would be ready to do you any service. Lord Chief Justice Bridgman² (upon Mr. Zanchy's his chaplain's commendation) and Lord Chief Baron Hales³ read your book with diligence; and the noise perhaps of such great men reading it might make for your advantage at Cambridge. So that there is no reason for you to be discouraged from going on to the third part, as a great man also told me. Mrs. Foxcroft told me she spake to my Lord Conway about me, who professed a willingness to help upon occasion (there being some thereabouts that have many livings, and some of good value) or else to write into Ireland. I told her I had no mind to take a voyage into Ireland; if any in England had a mind to better preferment there, and had the offer of it, I had rather succeed such in England. —

¹ Dr. Seth Ward, see vol. i. p. 302.

² Vol. i. p. 106.

³ See preface to Potts's *Discovery of Witches*, p. 5, as to the sketches of this great judge by Bishop Burnet and Roger North. The life of Hale, in Lord Campbell's *Lives of Chief Justices*, can scarcely be accepted as a fair delineation by those who wish to arrive at the truth of a character. His lordship's critical judgment on Hale's *Origination of Mankind* is much too favourable. Taking him out of his profession, in which he was unsurpassed by any lawyer of his time, and looking only at his philosophical and religious writings, we should seek in vain for any proofs of an intellect of a very high order. In his own day his legal fame gave a currency to his claims to be considered as an oracle also on other subjects; and they seem to have been admitted on the strength of his personal character rather than the merits of his performances. His folio may be taken up by those whose curiosity is attracted by the name of Sir Matthew Hale, but the defects are too radical and the composition too little attractive to allow of any frequent recurrence to its pages. After all, the miniature portrait by Roger North is the only resemblance which can give pleasure to those who wish to see a great man in his weakness as well as his strength, his failings as well as his virtues, and who consider indiscriminate panegyric to be the bane of biography.

Dr. W. Dillingham in a Letter (anno 1663 uti conjicio) Nov. 16.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

Yours of Nov. 2nd I received, and thank you for the intelligence of it. I wrote and sent to Cambridge in answer to your former, but it seems it miscarried. I therein acquainted you that Mr. Estwick's¹ papers were in his executor's hands, one Freeman of Hertfordshire, who married his wife's daughter (or grandchild, I know not which). I know not where he lives. . . . I thank you for your advice, though I durst not undertake to prepare the copies and gather the index of the Scholia, as Mr. Feild desired (which would have been six hours' work per day for three years); yet I may say I am not altogether idle, though out from all ways of getting a subsistence. But it is the time of God's patience, and why should it not be of ours also? I have somewhere part of a letter of Mr. Mede's in Latin concerning the killing of the witnesses which I had of Mr. Estwick. If you have it not, I will seek it up and send it.

¹ Nicholas Estwick, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Minister at Wackton in Northamptonshire. His principal work is his *Examination and Confutation of Mr. Biddle's Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity*, 1656, 4to. He also published three separate sermons and a treatise on the Holy Ghost, 1648, 4to. He was one of the correspondents of Joseph Mede, and Worthington appears to have recovered and published for the first time, in his edition of his works, three letters from Mede to Estwick (Mede's works, pp. 1032-6), in the last of which he gives his judgment upon Archbishop Williams's *Holy Table, Name, and Thing*, a tract which must always interest from the liveliness, wit, and erudition which it displays. Mede admits that "it is written very ably, and with much variety of learning," but seems to doubt whether part was not elaborated by another hand than the Bishop's, from "the strange mistakes, confusions, concealments, and wrested interpretations of the answerer," which appear in it. The doubt is curious, and deserves attention if the tract should ever be reprinted, as Lord Hailes had at one time an intention of doing.

Dr. Cudworth in a Letter Jan. 1664-5.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

I wrote to [—] this week that I would send the beginning of my *Natural Ethics* up the next week. I shall follow your advice to send up, at a time, about the quantity of my last sermon. But I would entreat you to speak with Royston about it. I suppose it will be about nine or ten times as much as my sermon was, and therefore it will do best in quarto. But I would have it a very fair letter, I think that of my sermon will do best, and a large paper that there may be a good margin,¹ and the book will show the handsomer for it on the outside also. Whom shall I get to carry it to Mr. Cook [Crook?]. I intend to send it on Monday. By reason of something which I heard since my last to you I have cause to make complaint of one² whom I

¹ The collector of "*copies on large paper*," however he may be scoffed at by the profane, may clearly quote the great authority of Cudworth for his predilection.

² Dr. Henry More. Who would expect that literary jealousy could find any entrance in the long cemented friendship of these two admirable men, and that a new page was very near being added to the history of "*Literary Quarrels*," by "*Natural Ethics*" and the teaching of the divine law of love. Fortunately, the minds of both were too well constituted, their sincere admiration and respect for each other too fervent and deeply rooted, to render this misunderstanding any more than a passing cloud over the bright and serene atmosphere of their intercourse and communication. With all our reverence for Cudworth, he appears in this correspondence too exacting, and, considering how widely he and More always differ in their treatment of any subject, he seems to have entertained fears of being anticipated, which were more akin to panic terrors than rational apprehensions. However conscious he might be of powers and capacity to grapple with the extensive field of what he calls "*natural ethics*," how could he feel justified, as regards the world at large, in interdicting the auxiliary forces which a mind like More's was able to bring into action in furtherance of the grand end which both these good men had most sincerely in view. Perhaps we may make some allowance for his sensitive and jealous feeling, from considering how little Cudworth had actually brought before the public at this time and how much he had it in contemplation to accomplish. His vast grasp had taken in the whole extent of Pagan and Christian antiquity, and his mind, laying it out in regular compartments as the

have been an entire friend to, and have been guilty of no fault towards him, unless it be that I have too much idolized his person, as it is possible to do those that we much value and love, for which it may please God to exercise me in this kind. I impart it to you because you are an indifferent friend to both. You know I have had this design concerning good and evil, or Natural Ethics, a great while, which I began above a year ago

subject of future exhaustion, was full of designs and labours, pregnant with good to man and glory to himself, which he conceived that his gigantic powers would enable him to work out to the full. And yet the world only knew him then as the author of a tract on the Lord's Supper and two Sermons, which, excellent as they were, he well knew bore no correspondence with the mightier demonstrations he had in store; and he saw himself, in imagination, outstripped by every competitor in the race for fame. The wide domain which he had originally destined for conquest appeared to be gradually contracting from the successive appropriations of Pearson, More, Stillingfleet, and others, who had taken possession of large provinces and made them their own, and Cudworth, in capabilities and ambition equal to any, and in learning superior to all, began to fear, however unnecessarily, that all the territories which he had mapped out for himself would disappear one by one. More's intended treatise was like the Trent to Hotspur, —

“This river comes me cranking in

And cuts me from the best of all my land

A huge half moon, a monstrous cantle out.”

It would have been a lasting subject of regret if this feeling on the part of Cudworth, which some, who do not allow for the failings of even the best of men, may be inclined to characterize as an irritable selfishness, unworthy of his amiable and excellent character, had deprived us of More's *Enchiridion Ethicum*, a manual truly worthy of its exalted author, and which reflects in the fullest measure his mind and image. It affords us what is finest and best in Platonism, impregnated and sublimed by a spirit derived from a purer code and infinitely nobler source, and it long continued the most popular and perhaps the most useful of all More's numerous works. If at the present day it has survived its popularity, it has at least not been superseded by any book which better deserves a lasting place in any library as an admirable ethical compendium. Though now mentioned, it was not actually published till 1667. Cudworth's great work on “*Natural Ethics*,” so much, as appears from the text, the present object of his solicitude, and from which he anticipated so large an harvest of fame, remains still (and the fact is discreditable in the highest degree to the taste and critical judgment of his countrymen) in manuscript in the British Museum, and has never yet been published.

(when I made the first sermon in the chapel about that argument) to study over anew and dispatch a discourse about it. No man had so frequently exhorted me to it, and so earnestly, as this friend (whom you know) having formerly several times said he would leave that argument for me, calling it my *Metaphysical Ethics*. He knew by my discourse (besides my commonplaces) any time this twelvemonth, that I was wholly upon it. But about three months since, unexpectedly, he told me on a sudden he had begun a discourse on the same argument. I was struck into an amaze, and could hardly believe what he said, but, after some pause, told him that he knew I was engaged a good while in the argument and had taken a great deal of pains in it, and it would be not only superfluous but very absurd for two friends at the same time to write upon the same argument; and therefore, though I wondered very much at this, yet, if he were resolved to go on and take the argument from me, I would desist, and not seem guilty to the world of the vanity of emulation. Hereupon he was mute. The next day, my mind being exceedingly troubled with the great disappointment that I should be forced to lose all my pains and study, in writing I imparted my mind more fully and plainly to him. Whereupon he came to me and told me he would speak with me about it after a day or two. So he did, and then excused the business, that he could not tell whether I would despatch and finish it or no, because I had been so long about it; that Mr. Fulwood¹ and Mr. Jenks²

¹ Francis Fulwood, D.D., Canon of Exeter, who published a Sermon in 1667 and another in 1672, and a treatise entitled "The Pillars of Rome broken" (against the Pope's authority in England) in 1679, 8vo.

² Henry Jenks, who became a student at Emmanuel in 1646, and afterwards Fellow of Gonville and Caius's College. He was afterwards Fellow of the Royal Society, and author of "The Christian Tutor, or a Free and Rational Discourse of the

had solicited him to do this, and that you were very glad that he would undertake it; but now he understood I was resolved to go through with it, he was very glad of it, that he would desist and throw his into a corner, wished me to dedicate it to his Lordship of Canterbury, &c. Hereupon I renewed my resolution, and set myself more earnestly about it; and then I wrote to you, concealing this business, and when I wrote to my Lord of Canterbury did intimate (because I knew he expected something) that if my quiet continued I did ere long hope to despatch such a business, which he hath spoken of since. Notwithstanding all this (as I hear lately) before he went into the country he told Mr. Fulwood he would go on with it, and has written as much to Mr. Standish out of the country. Though truly I have so strong a persuasion of the morality, ingenuity, and friendship of that person, that I cannot yet think, when it comes to, that he can do such a thing. I have been far from envy, rejoicing in his performances as if they were mine own. He hath credit and fame as much as he can desire. That he, my intimate friend, should entertain such a design as this, to depress and detract from my single small performance what he can, and to assume to himself the credit of this ethical business, is so strange to me that I do not believe it. And if he should violate friendship in this kind, it would more afflict me than all that Dr. Widdrington¹ ever did, and make me sick of Christ's College, and of all things in this life. . . . There were some other slight pretences

Sovereign Good and Happiness of Man, in a Letter of Advice to Mr. James King in the East Indies," Lond. 1688, 8vo. He died in 1697.

¹ Dr. Widdrington, who had endeavoured, as Cudworth thought, to get him removed from the headship of Christ's College. A letter of Dr. Widdrington will be found afterwards, acknowledging, on the part of the College, the present of Mede's works by Worthington.

mentioned, that his would be in Latin, mine English, his shorter, mine longer, which signify nothing. All this I impart to you privately, because a common friend. I have not spoken to anybody else but Mr. Standish, and something to Mr. Jenks and Fulwood, nor shall I till I see the issue, but suspend my judgment. I leave all to your prudence.—

To the Rev. his honoured friend Dr. Worthington, &c.

[From Dr. Cudworth.]

Good neighbour,

I am heartily sorry that I miss of so good a news as Ashwell and you of this accommodation. But I hope it is because Providence designs better for you. It is sad that so many persons that have neither learning nor morality should get into preferments and keep out others from them that are meritorious on both accounts. But I see that one must look beforehand. It would be convenient, therefore, to consider now what place may be like to be void, and to enquire of some friends. But I would not wish you to resign Barking by any means till you have a better place. If my wife were well, I would step up to London next week, to come down the following week. There is yet a sheet unwritten of that part which I hope to send you to-morrow. Now I have only sent you the titlepage. That of Ethics which you say is true, but then it will be called Morality, if not Ethics, which is as bad. I received your two half sheets, and your letter was carefully delivered. As for the other business, notwithstanding what I hear, I cannot yet believe that my old friend will serve me so; not only because he so lately promised the contrary, but because I conceive the thing itself plainly inconsistent with true friendship—for two friends writing upon the same argument at the same time, as one book will hinder the other from selling, so they will be both, or one or other of them, judged guilty of emulation, vainglory, and desire to ostentate how much they can do

better than the other, and one will detract from the other; so that had I not been so far engaged that I cannot now retreat, I would far rather have relinquished the whole business, which in November I was resolved to have done if my friend had resolved peremptorily to go on, though I should have lost a great deal of pains and study. But he promising to desist, I have since engaged myself to my Lord of Canterbury that I would do something shortly, and he hath spoken of it; that I cannot relinquish this business as otherwise I would do if he had so great a desire towards it. But there are arguments enough besides for him to employ himself in. And he hath already written a great deal of morality in most of his books, especially *Mystery of Godliness* and *Cabbala*, where there are things that I intend to take notice of, as I have occasion, in this, and to acknowledge. I cannot be confined merely to one thing, to show that there is such a thing as virtue, that it is not a mere name, without showing what it is. For the showing what it is must prove that it is. And therefore in my short position, according to the bigness of it, I had proportionally as much about what moral goodness and virtue is, and the species of it enumerated. It is impossible to prove that virtue is, and not show what it is. I shall deal ingenuously in any thing in which I have been in any way beholden to him. And truly I intended to have communicated all or most to him before, and to have taken his advice; and I expected that he would have contributed anything he could towards it, as I would readily do to anything to serve him. Here is now a book a printing (they say it is Dr. Beaumont's) against his *Apology*. I have seen nothing of it, but Mr. Standish hath acquainted him with it, to whom I also have spoken freely about this business, who seems to be very sensible of the indecorum of two such friends, as we have been, writing at the same time upon the same argument. Use your discretion, writing what you think fit. I am,

Yours ever,

R.[alph] C.[udworth.]

Jan. 1664-5.

To his honourable friend Dr. Worthington.

[From Dr. Henry More.]

Sir,

I wrote to you thus soon merely upon the account of conveying the inclosed. For I understand by Mr. Standish's letter that he unawares speaking to the Master¹ of my *Enchiridion Ethicum*, that he showed again his disgust of my design, and pretended that if I persisted in the design of publishing my book that he would desist in his, though he had part of it then ready to send up to be licensed that week. Wherefore, that there may be no demur in that business, I wrote to Mr. Standish to desire him to tell the Master that I do not intend, if at all, to publish my book till he has published his, which, if it will not satisfy him, I shall be very much at a loss to know what his meaning is. I pray you spur him up to send his to the press, sith himself acknowledges that part thereof is ready already to be licensed. I never expected to be thus entangled in such serious designs by men of friendship and virtue. For my part it is well known I have no design at all but to serve the public, and that I entered upon this task extremely against my own will, and yet I have finished it all but a chapter. Whether, or when I shall publish it, I shall have leisure enough to consider. I should be heartily glad to hear you succeed in the business you communicated to me in your last letter. Nothing would be more welcome than the news thereof to

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Ragley, Jan. 24, 1664-5.

H. More.

Dr. More in a Letter Feb. 7, 1664-5.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

Sir,

I have received yours of Jan. 28, and am exceedingly

¹ Cudworth was Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.

sorry that both you and myself are so disappointed in our hopes in that affair you wrote of. But it is good to submit all to Divine Providence, and to have so hearty and warm a sense of the things within that the uncertainty of things without may have the less influence upon us. As for the annotations in Dr. Taylor's *Dissuasive*,¹ I do not doubt but that they are at least generally true. And let a man write as certain truths as the Apostles, that Church will never fail to pretend to answer, to amuse and hold up the minds of their party. I am glad Dr. Cudworth's book is in that readiness that the world may be sure of that; for I am not so fully resolved of publishing my *Enchiridion*, till I have further considered it and transcribed it. Such scrupulosities as he makes could never have entered into the thoughts of any man but himself, I think. And if our friendship be so well known, it would the more secure us both from that suspicion of emulation, which, how much it is in myself, you shall understand by this brief but true narration. Some few friends at Cambridge were earnest with me to write a short *Ethics*, alleging no small reason for it. I did not only heartily reject them more than once, but with great zeal, if not rudeness, alleging several things, which were too long to recite, indeed in a manner vilifying the project, preferring experience of life before all such fine systems, alleging also that Dr. Cudworth had a design for the greatest curiosity

¹ The first part of Jeremy Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery* appeared in 1664, which was followed by a second part in vindication of the former from the attacks of White and Sergeant. Bishop Heber considers that "as specimens of talent and acquirement the two *Dissuaves* are not inferior to any of his most popular productions." This is undoubtedly true, but it is not so easy to agree with the Bishop in his further remark, "that it is even possible they will be read by many with less weariness and a more sustained, though a different kind of pleasure, than the unmingled and almost interminable wilderness of sweets which characterize his earlier and less argumentative writings." In his controversial treatises, learned and able as they are, Taylor is only half himself. In that department he has many equals, perhaps some superiors, in his own age; but in his practical works he soars beyond all competition. In those, and those only, his peculiar and unrivalled genius, with its fanciful rays

"Of thousand colourings

Streaming from off the light like seraph's wings,"
has its finest and fullest play.

of that subject. But nothing would content them but my setting upon the work, that it was uncertain when Dr. Cudworth's would come out; and besides, mine being a small treatise, running through the whole body of ethics, they would not interfere with one another. But such an interpretation, as Dr. Cudworth makes of it, never came into any man's mind, nor, I think, ever would have come if he had not started it. For my part, till I had by chance told Dr. Cudworth of my purpose (which I did simply thinking nothing), and how many chapters had been finished, I knew nothing either of the time or scope of his writing, or if he intended a general ethics, as now he would make shew by his title; and therefore I had not the advantage of that argument against them, which was the fruit of his reservedness (if it was his intention) which I used not to him in my projects. But the effect of those friends' earnestness (to tell you plainly how the case stood) was this: A day or two after their last importunity, I waking in the morning, and some of their weightiest allegations recurring to my mind, and also remembering with what an excessive earnestness one of them solicited me to this work (in which I thought there might be something more than ordinary, and that he was actuated in this business I knew not how), I began seriously to think with myself of the matter, and at last was so conscientiously illaquested therein that I could not absolutely free myself therefrom to this very day. Nor was this only an act of mere conscience, but of perfect self-denial. For it did very vehemently cross other great and innocent pleasures that I had promised myself in a certain ordering my studies which I had newly proposed to myself at that very time. So that I thought of nothing in the earth in this act but a satisfaction to the severity of my own conscience and the public good. For had it not been for this, I must confess I should have made bold to have balked the desires of my friends, notwithstanding all their importunity, it went so highly against the hair in respect of my other more pleasing designs. But when I was once engaged, I proceeded not without some pleasure. I would never give Dr. Cudworth so solemn an account as this, for fear he should have taken the pet, and deprived the world of his

illucubrations, which I doubt not will prove very laudable and useful; and I wish also advantageous to himself, which is my main reason of letting his go before mine, if mine go out at all. For I have no worldly design in writing my book, but only of serving the public. This is most certainly true (I will not say in *verbo sacerdotis* but) in the word of an honest man. As for those particular reflections of his which you hint in your letter, I think they are now easy to be answered, for you see already why I wished him to proceed, and why I advised him to what he was resolved on before, I mean the dedicating of it to the Archbishop, and I am glad that he will so readily accept of it. You may also understand by this how far it is true that I take the argument out of his hand; for what I meddle with was forcibly put into my hand, and I could not refuse it. But nobody takes anything out of his hand, unless he has a mind to cast it out of himself, and for the public's sake and his own, I have used all possible discretion that he might not. I never heard him commonplace on this subject but once, nor understand where the argument lies in that allegation, nor in that his papers are long studied, for I profess mine are not (I finished all the last of—), but the easy and natural emanations of that life and sense within me, which I prefer before all the subtleties of wit. You may also take notice that I am not unmindful of what passed betwixt us at Cambridge, since I resolve not to publish my book (if at all) before his. And that where friendship is sound, there will be no such suspicions of emulation as he surmises, nor any such want of decorum in two friends, supposed so hearty enemies to vice and falsehood, to endeavour certatim to profligate them and destroy them—the one stabbing with a dagger (such is my *Enchiridion*) the other slashing with a broadsword.¹ Morden has been divers times at me to write such a book for some years together, as also several of my friends for some short book of devotion, which haply this may seem more like to some than a squabbling ethics. All that I can say of it is, that I never meant more simply and sincerely in anything than I did in this; nor do I

¹ A good illustration of the different means which More and his friend would employ to accomplish their purpose.

think that any man can undertake a business with greater plainness and integrity of spirit. And I hope, if the thing should see the light, that it might contribute to the making men good, if not disputatious and subtle witted. But, however, I have that satisfaction of mind, that I have been obedient herein to the voice of my own conscience, which if I should at any time resist I should be afraid I never sincerely obeyed it. But I must not upon punctilios be complimented out of my duty. I have more things to say unto you, which if you put me in mind of, I shall impart to you at our meeting, which I hope will now be ere long. Unless there be extreme necessity for it, I will never so misspend my time as to answer the observations¹ upon my "Apology." I wish you good success in your index labour.

[Henry More.]

To the Rev. and honoured Dr. Worthington, &c.

[From Mr. F. Theobald.]

Worthy Sir,

I understand by Mr. Colbourne's letter that you have resigned Barking living. That being so, I ought to have had notice given me by the Bishop of it; for I suppose your resignation is delivered in to him, otherwise you cannot properly be said to have resigned. As to Mr. Colborne, although I have a very good opinion of him, yet, by reason of a former engagement, I cannot gratify him in his request. There is one Mr. King, a worthy person, whom I intend to present; and I have had some discourse with him in reference to your concernments, and find he expresses himself very ingenuously. I desire you would write a word or two by Stowe carrier, on next Thursday, that I may be satisfied whether you have given in any resignation to the Bishop, and what your intention is. You may build upon it that Mr. King will do all fair and handsome things is the desire of

Your servant,

Fra. Theobald.

Barking, 13 Feb. 1664-5.

¹ By Dr. Joseph Beaumont. See vol. i. p. 307.

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanacks.]

Dec. 11, 18, 25. I preached at Benet Fynk, and Jan, 1, 8, 22, 29, an. 1664-5, and Feb. 5.

Feb. 10. John began to be sick, a great heat and coughing, no stomach. Feb. 11. Damaris began to be sick alike.

Feb. 12. Dr. Ingelo preached at Benet Fynk.

Feb. 14. John began to mend, and Damaris a little.

Feb. 16. I finished the last paper of Mr. Mede's works for the press. I began this work in Jul. 1662.¹

Feb. 19, 26, March 5, 12, 19, 24, 1664-5. I preached at Benet Fynk.

¹ So that this laborious and very important undertaking occupied him rather more than two years and a half. The publication appeared in two volumes in a much more convenient size (in folio) than that of the succeeding edition of 1672. The title was, "The Works of the pious and profoundly learned Joseph Mede, B.D., sometime Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge; corrected and enlarged according to the Author's own Manuscripts. London: printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston, bookseller to his most sacred Majesty, 1664." It is dedicated by Worthington to the University of Cambridge. His general preface, which follows, in its style and temper is in every respect what might be expected from the excellent editor. Every one who wishes to form a judgment of Worthington, and to take measure of the man, should read it. The Life of Joseph Mede, which is subjoined to the preface, is, he informs us, "written by some of great acquaintance with him, and that always had a just esteem for him." Worthington's son states in a letter in answer to inquiries on the subject of the author of the Life: "I know not who was the author of the short view of Mr. Mede's Life, but that which was prefixed to his works was drawn by an ancient friend of Mr. Mede's, who covenanted with my father that his name should be concealed, and gave him leave to add and alter as he thought good, and accordingly by the rough draft I find my father made several improvements thereof and very large additions." The "Appendix" to Mede's Life is mentioned in Worthington's preface to have been sent from "another doctor, anciently of the same University, one who frequently resorted to Mr. Mede and thought himself richly rewarded by his discourse for every journey he made to his chamber." The Life of Mede and Appendix, with the sketch given by Worthington in the preface, afford biographical collectanea of the greatest interest and value regarding one of the most illustrious ornaments of the Church of England, and are worth every attention from the force and spirit of the composition, and the cordial sympathy they manifest with the opinions and feelings and character of this eminent light of prophecy.

Dr. Widdrington of Christ's College, Cambridge, March 15, 1664-5.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

Sir,

Soon after your letter of March 10, I received Mr. Mede's works in two volumes by H., and in this single paper I must beg leave to thank you very heartily for altogether, acknowledging both your extraordinary kindness to me and to our College and to the whole University, in the exceeding pains you have taken to let the world peruse so fair and legible a draught of our incomparable Mr. Mede from his own pen.

For my much honoured friend Dr. Worthington, &c.

[From Dr. William Dillingham.¹]

Honoured Sir,

I have received a book of Mr. Mede's works, for which, though inscribed and sent from Mr. Royston, yet I must account myself indebted to you; for I doubt not but the work will meet with such acceptance as may make you not to repent your Herculean pains bestowed about it. Thus with my hearty thanks, with mine

¹ William Dillingham, D.D., Rector of Woodhill, Bedfordshire, was an intimate friend of Worthington, who mentions him frequently. (See his letter to Worthington, p. 156.) He seems to have been much employed in superintending the printing of the more elaborate works of the London and Cambridge presses. His care in editing an edition of Ferrarius's *Lexicon Geographicum* is noticed in one of Worthington's previous letters. His works consist of: 1. Sermon on 1 Thess. v. 21, 1661, 4to; 2. Sermon on 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8, Lond. 1678, 4to; 3. *Poemata partim e G. Herberto Latine reddita, adscitis etiam aliis aliorum*, Lond. 1678, 8vo; 4. *Poemata ex variis auctoribus selecta*, 4to; 5. *Protestant Certainty, or a Short Treatise showing how a Protestant may be assured of the Articles of his Faith*, Lond. 1689, folio; 6. *The Mystery of Iniquity Anatomized*, Lond. 1689, folio; 7. *Vita Laurentii Chadertoni, una cum vitâ Jacobi Usserii*, Cantab. 1700, 8vo. His "*Campanæ Undulensæ*" (*Oundle Bells*) in the small volume of his Latin Poems I read many years ago with great pleasure.

and my wife's kind respects and service to yourself and good Mrs. Worthington, I rest

Oundle, Apr. 3.

Yours,
Will. Dillingham.

For the Rev. Dr. Worthington, at his house near St. Benet's Fynk, &c.
[From John Sherman.¹]

Worthy Sir,

Yours found me abroad, as you supposed; with it I received at my return Mr. Mede's book, which I presented to our Master and Fellows, as you commanded, by whom I am directed to return their thanks, to present their service, and to let you know that they receive it as an instance of your great kindness and singular respect. It is some while since I received a note from you about the charges of the bibles, &c., to which I deferred an answer because I intended for London ere now; but this (God willing) you shall not fail to be waited on by

Sir,
Your humble servant,
Coll. Jesu. Apr. 23, 1665. Jo. Sherman.

In a Letter to Mr. Evans, March 31, 1665.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— As for my affairs, I commit them to the All-wise and All-gracious Lord of all. If some had gone through so large and so voluminous a work as I did, they would have swaggered and thought themselves highly to merit more than ordinary favours. In a letter I received from Dr. Ingelo it is said that Mr. Pede (you thought) would

¹ John Sherman, afterwards Master of Jesus College, whose "*Historia Collegii Jesu Cantabrigiensis*" has been edited by Mr. Halliwell, and published in 1840, 8vo.

undertake Desiderius,¹ and he wished me to suggest what directions I could think of, which I did. Doth Mr. Pede, or some other undertake it? I wish I knew, because I would endeavour to prevent an imperfect edition designed by some. Dr. Gell² is lately dead, and

¹ This design appears to have fallen through at this time. In 1717, Lawrence Howel, A.M., published a translation of this well-known and popular work under the title of "Desiderius, or the Original Pilgrim, a Divine Dialogue, showing the most compendious way to arrive at the love of God; London, printed by William Redmayne for the Author, 1717," 12mo. Sandius, in his *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*, ascribes the work to Servetus, but this is a mistake. It was originally written in Spanish, afterwards translated into Italian, French, high and low Dutch, and about the year 1587 into Latin, by Laurentius Surius. Howel mentions in his preface that Royston, the publisher, (noticed before, p. 152) had declared that Bishop Patrik took his *Parable of the Pilgrim* from it, and that it had formed the groundwork of the writings of many authors in that style.

² Robert Gell, D.D., born at Pampisford in Cambridgeshire, afterwards Rector of St. Mary, Aldermay, and Chaplain to Sheldon. He died 25th March, 1665. This very learned writer published two or three separate sermons, but his elaborate works are "An Essay toward the Amendment of the Bible," Lond. 1659, folio, "from which," Orme observes, "he seems to have had no high opinion of the translators of our received version but a very high respect for the worshipful and learned Society of Astrologers," and his "Remains," collected and set in order by R. Bacon, which were published in two volumes 1676, folio. The editor observes in his preface: "The Hebrew and Chaldee words have been most carefully perused and fixed by two of the most learned men of these times, viz., Mr. John Sadler (see Worthington's Diary, vol. i. p. 252) well known and beloved of this author, lately deceased, whose memory after ages will celebrate with greater honour and respect than was afforded him in his life-time. The other, old Mr. Lancaster, who, though by his retirement he hath rendered himself for the present obscure, yet may be inrolled among the very chief in the knowledge of the Eastern tongues." Perhaps Dr. Gell might carry his respect to the Society of Astrologers and his fondness for spiritualizing and allegorizing too far, but there is still much to admire in his writings, which contain many striking paragraphs and happy explanations and applications of Scripture, little as they are noticed at the present day. Baxter indeed mentions him in rather a slighting manner amongst what he calls the "sect makers" of his time (*Life by Sylvester*, part i. p. 74) but his report is not always to be trusted when he is speaking of a conformist. The editor of Gell's *Remains*, Robert Bacon, who describes himself "Philologus," and whom Dr. Gell styles "an honest, pious, and prudent man," referring to "the many controversies which have at once obscured the truth and put a damp upon that divine love which was once the glory and character of the Christian name," declares that

the Archbishop bestowed that place upon his Chaplain, Mr. Cook.¹—

For his honoured friend Dr. Worthington, &c.

[From Dr. Henry More.]

Sir,

I perceive now that I wrote to you May 1, and thank you for your kind and friendly answer. If I had thought Dr. Cudworth desired it, and expected it, I would have spoken to him myself. But I thank you for your freedom both to him and to me. It never came into my mind to print this Enchiridion till his book was out, unless he would have professed his like of the project. I am very sorry and much concerned at his taking my writing this book so heinously. God is witness of the sincerity of my conscience therein, and how it was a mere act of self-denial in me to undertake it. What I told you in my letter from Ragley is very true. I have transcribed it all. Mr. Jenks and Mr. Fulwood are exceeding earnest to see it, and would transcribe it for your private satisfaction. But if they should do so, and it be known, it would, it may be, distaste Dr. Cudworth, whom I am very loth any way to grieve. I believe he could not well like it that it should be communicated to any at London; but if yourself have a mind to see it, and could get a fair and true copy transcribed of it, I would willingly pay the transcriber and the copy should be yours. For I am loth that what I have writ on so edifying a subject should be lost. And this the utmost that I

“this holy man (Dr. Gell) endeavoured, as doth in his works appear, by all holy means at once to enlighten, reform, and renew, or restore Christianity, by passing over and looking above all the sects and divisions that have arisen out of the dark and dismal pit of the long apostacy into its first and primitive lustre, unity, love, and peace.” — Preface to first volume of *Remains*.

¹ Thomas Cook, collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Church of Stisted, Essex, February 13, 1655, afterwards Archdeacon of Middlesex and Prebendary of Willesdon. He died shortly before October, 1679. — *Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 83.

can do for the present or for ever; and my reward is that my mind is at ease; and I hope I shall with a good conscience for the future abstain from writing any more books.¹ I am infinitely pleased in my mind that I find my obligation of writing books cut in pieces in me, and myself set free to more private meditations. I have lived the servant of the public hitherto. It is a great ease to me to be manumitted thus, and left to the polishing of myself and the licking myself whole of the wounds I have received in these hot services. If you desire my copy, I pray send me word, and you shall have the first part from

Your assured friend,

C.C.C., May 10.

H. More.

¹ See vol. i. p. 811. "He hath been so harrassed with the toil and drudgery of writing at some times, that he hath with some impatience resolved against all such undertakings for the future in hast. And being deeply once engaged, he said to a friend, that when he got again his hands out of the fire, he would not very suddenly thrust them in afresh; or to that effect. But being minded afterwards by that same person, who thought his expression a little too vehement, of the great common good that he was promoting, and the principles he was governed by, he seemed to concur with him very freely in it; and not unwillingly to receive his admonition. And I do truly believe, that the Divine Providence, which brought him into the world for a publick service, still cut him out some new work as the old was done, and, though under much weight and labour, as powerfully assisted and refreshed him in it; to his own lasting honour, and to the exceeding great benefit of the commonwealth of learning and of the Church of God. He would say sometimes that he had drudged like a mill-horse. And his pains in all this were the more considerable, as well as highly charitable, because they kept him so much from the far more pleasing and, as to himself, beatifying introversions of his own mind; insomuch that writing to a friend, he there tells him, that when he was free from his present incumbent businesses, his purpose was to recoil into that dispensation he was in before he wrote or published any thing to the world; in which (saith he) I very sparingly so much as read any books, but sought a more near union with a certain life and sense, which I infinitely prefer before the diness of mere reason, or the wantonness of the trimmest imagination: but these also are useful instruments for some to draw them to good. Thus he wrote to one that affected, as he conceived, over much this dry reason and fancy, without so due a sense of that other principle as he should also have had."—Ward's Life of Dr. Henry More, pp. 148-50.

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

Mar. 26, 1665, Apr. 2, 5, 9. I preached at Benet Fynk. Apr. 13, at Allhallows, Barking. Apr. 16, 23, 30, May 7. I preached at Benet Fynk.

May 8, 1665. I resigned Barking. Of 60 Sundays since Mr. Kettleby's coming, 32 are from Michaelmas.

May 14 (Whitsunday). I preached at Benet Fynk, forenoon (and administered the Sacrament) and afternoon.

May 19. I went to Hendon in Middlesex. May 21. I preached at Hendon.

May, 29, Jun. 4, 11. I preached at Benet Fynk.

Jun. 14. One died in the parish of the plague.¹

Jun. 18, 20, 25. I preached at Benet Fynk.

Jun. 24. John was in danger to be choked, but delivered. Laus Deo. Jun. 29. A girl died in our parish of the plague, in the same house as the other (a porter). The other two remaining in that house were carried to the pest-house.²

¹ "1665. 10th June. In the evening home to supper, and there, to my great trouble, hear that the plague is come into the city (though it hath these three or four weeks since its beginning been wholly out of the city), but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour, Dr. Burnett's, in Fenchurch Street, which in both points troubles me mightily. 11th. I saw poor Dr. Burnett's door shut. 14th. The town grows very sickly, and people to be afraid of it, there dying this last week of the plague 112, from 43 the week before, whereof but one in Fenchurch Street and one in Broad Street by the treasurer's office." — Pepys's Diary. Dr. Worthington and his family were, it will be observed, living at this period in a house in the parish of St. Benet Fink, near the Church and close to Broad Street.

² Defoe has brought before us all the appalling features of this fearful visitation with unequalled graphic power in his inimitable "Journal of the Plague Year." It is, however, rather surprising, that while that work has long taken its place amongst the great standard productions of English literature, the volume which followed on the same subject, and beyond all question by the same author, was never attributed to him before a notice by the present writer in the Gentleman's Magazine of October, 1838; and that since that date, such appears to be the scarcity of the book, no other copy has made its appearance in the London sale or booksellers' catalogues than that there described and now in my possession. The title of the work is, "Due Preparations for the Plague, as well for Soul as Body, being some seasonable Thoughts upon

Jul. 2. I preached at St. Lawrence's. And Jul. 9 and 12, I preached at Benet Fynk.

In a Letter to Dr. Evans, July 10, 1665.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— You have heard of the sickness in our parish. Two died out of Mr. Barber's house. The other two remaining in the house were carried to the pest-house. Last week a maid fell sick in the next house; she was alone, and was carried last Saturday night to the pest-house. Since, we hear, she is dead. It begins to spread in the city. Many are gone into the country out of our parish, as out of others. There is a greater solitude than one would imagine.¹ The doctor adviseth my wife by all

the visible Approach of the present dreadful Contagion in France; the properest measures to prevent it, and the great work of submitting to it. Psalm xci. 10: *There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall the plague come nigh thy dwelling.* London: printed for E. Matthews at the Bible, and J. Batley at the Door in Paternoster Row, 1722," 12mo, pages 272, besides introduction 11 pages. It may be considered as a second part of the "Journal," and is worked up in his usual form of narrative and dialogue with equal skill and effect. Indeed the story of the citizen in the parish of St. Albans, Wood Street, who made the same preparations for the plague as if a regular siege had to be sustained, and who, encircled by pestilence, defied all its approaches, and of which my friend, Mr. W. Harrison Ainsworth, has so happily availed himself in his popular novel of "Old St. Paul's," has always appeared to me finer in conception and execution than anything in the "Journal of the Plague Year."

¹ "There is a dismal solitude in London streets: every day looks with the face of a sabbath, observed with a greater solemnity than it used to be in the city. Shops are shut up; people rare; and few that walk about, insomuch that grass begins to grow in some places, and a deep silence in almost every place, especially within the city walls.

Within the walls,
The most frequented once and noisy parts
Of town, now midnight silence reigns e'en there!
A midnight silence, at the noon of day!
And grass, untrodden, springs beneath the feet!

DRYDEN.

means to get out of the city, and not to lie in the city in the dog-days. Her time is near. Our friends at St. Alban's have writ several letters to us to come away, and would provide us lodgings thereabouts. But I am loth to leave the parish desolate, and would not decline the service of the place except there be imminent danger of appearing there. And therefore, that I might not be wanting to the good of the place, I have hired a house at Hackney, whither I am preparing to remove my family. It is dear hiring of houses near the city at this time; those lodgings at St. Alban's would be far cheaper. I may take a walk (God willing) on Sunday mornings, and come in good time to the church.—

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

Jul. 13. I removed out of London to Hackney.¹

Jul. 16, 22. I preached at Benet Fynk. July 24. Mr. Mawdrell, lecturer of Benet Fynk, died. July 30, Aug. 2, 6. I preached at Benet Fynk. Aug. 6, 1665. About half an hour past ten, or less,

The great street in Whitechapel is one of the broadest and most public streets in London; all the side where the butchers lived was more like a green field than a paved street; toward Whitechapel church the street was not all paved, but the part that was paved was full of grass; the grass grew in Leadenhall-street, Bishopsgate-street, Cheapside, Cornhill, and even in the Royal Exchange: neither cart nor coach was seen from morning to evening, except country carts with roots, beans, pease, hay and straw, to the market, and those very few: coaches were scarcely used, but to carry people to the pest-house or hospitals; or some few to carry physicians: coaches were dangerous, sick infected persons sometimes dying in them."—*Historical Narrative of the Great Plague at London, 1769*, 8vo, p. 356.

¹ 1665. "6th July. Lord! the number of houses visited, which this day I observed through the town quite round in my way by Long Lane and London Wall. 12th. A solemn fast day for the plague growing upon us. 13th. Above 700 died of the plague this week."—*Pepys's Diary*. Though Dr. Worthington removed his family to Hackney he did not desert his post. He preached regularly at St. Benet Fink during the whole period of this dreadful visitation.

my wife was delivered at Hackney of a daughter. Her labour began when I was to go to London to preach.

Aug. 13, 20, 27. I preached at Benet Fynk.

Mr. William Hayes of Papworth Agnes in a Letter, Aug. 28, 1665.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

— I have spent another week in Bedfordshire; and, enquiring concerning Dr. Archer, I heard what I wrote to you contradicted, and that he was only dead in the judgment of his physicians, who had given him up for a dead man, but that he was then alive. Blunham, some say, is in Mrs. Archer's dispose when her husband is dead; others, that it is in the Countess of Kent's.¹ His other living I cannot yet hear who is the patron of it, and what I heard the last week hath kept me from farther enquiry; for I was told that Dr. Walker being lately dead, and a fellow in Cambridge riding for his living,² heard that the Earl of Warwick³ had bestowed it upon you. My cousin Bloomer wrote how much they were beholden to you for not leaving the city in this sad time. The Lord keep you that no plague come nigh your dwelling.

¹ Mary, daughter of John, first Lord Lucas, who married Anthony, Earl of Kent.

² This Cambridge Fellow would ride to little purpose, as Dr. Anthony Walker, Rector of Fyfield in Essex, who is evidently the person meant, did not die till 1692. His interesting *Life of John Boyse* has been before noticed. A list of his other works may be seen in Wood's *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 207. His last publication was "A true Account of the Author of *Eikon Basilike*," in answer to Dr. Hollinworth, Lond. 1692, 4to. The character of him in Kennett (*Register and Chronicle*, p. 781) is anything but favourable; but his biographical tracts and funeral sermons are certainly not undeserving of attention.

³ Charles Rich, the fourth Earl of Warwick of the Rich family, who succeeded to the title in 1659.

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

Aug. 29, 1665. My daughter, Anna Worthington, was baptized by Mr. Jempson, Sir Jeremy Whichcote being godfather, and the Lady Anne Whichcote and Mrs. Lamb godmothers. In this month Damaris and John, &c., fell sick of agues, &c.

Sept. 1, 1665. Mrs. Angell (a Minister's wife) died of the plague¹ in the next house to ours, and no other died, but they all continued well to the end of the month. Laus Deo.

Dr. More in a Letter to Dr. Worthington, Sept. 5, 1665.

— Receiving a letter from Mr. Wilkins touching your present peril of the sickness, I could not abstain from taking notice of it. But I am glad to hear you are well in your own house, though the next be visited. God may stop it there, that no more die out of their house, or, however, he may preserve yours from the infection. My earnest prayers to God shall not be wanting to your safety.—

P.S. You did well to abstain from writing yourself, by reason of the persons where I am,² whose fear or danger I would not by any means occasion. If your neighbour's house and your own stand free for a month, then you will be in statu quo. I have great hopes God Almighty will preserve you for further service in his vineyard.

¹ 1665. "Aug. 31st. This month ends with great sadness on the public through the greatness of the plague every where. Every day sad and sadder news of its increase. In the city died this week 7,496, and of them 6,102 of the plague. But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000, partly from the poor that cannot be taken notice of through the greatness of the number, and partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring for them." — Pepys's Diary.

² Lord and Lady Conway, at Ragley, where Dr. More was visiting.

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

Sept. 6, (Fast day) and Sept. 10. I preached at Benet Fynk.
Sept. 13. Mr. Lamb's maid died of the plague.

Sept. 4, Oct. 1, 4, 15, 22, 29, Nov. 5, I preached at Benet Fynk,
and Nov. 8, Fast day. Hymns of Syn.[esius,] Resignation, Life of
Christ. Nov. 12. I preached at Hackney twice.

Dr. Evans in a Letter to Dr. Worthington, Oct. 8, 1665.

— The plague at Cambridge I fear increases this last week.
It is much in Bridge Street, and so up towards Sidney
College. Cambridge is almost disuniversitied, and either
there will be no winter term, or nothing to do in it,
which makes me think of returning to Windsor ere
long; but the weather now growing winterly, and the
plague being near Windsor, deters me from removing,
and the healthfulness of these parts invites me to tarry
where I am. I wrote to Sir Charles to pay in £5 for
me either to the Bishop's collector or to the Lord Mayor,
for the relief of the poor sick families in London. The
other living that Dr. Nichols¹ had was Stisted in Essex,
worth £180 per annum.

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanacks.]

Nov. 19, 26, Dec. 3, 6, 10, 17, 24, 25, 31. I preached at Benet
Fynk. In this month John's ague fits abated, and were but little
discernible.²

¹ Daniel Nicholls, presented to the living by Archbishop Juxon, died in 1665.

² It appears from the Bill of Mortality during the plague year, issued by the parish
clerks, that in the small parish of St. Benet Fink 47 died during the year ending the
19th of December, 1665, whereof 22 were carried off by the plague.

[Jan. 10, 1667. I have at Barking and Needham in Suffolk above £40 owing me; it hath been owing three years. I would not call for it immediately after the plague there, though I believe the richer sort got out of the town. If they suffered by the plague there, so did I suffer loss by the plague at London. I wrote lately to Mr. Theobald (the patron) that when he feasted his tenants (the parishioners) at Christmas, he would stir them up to pay their arrears. This I hope he hath done, and I desire you to write effectually to Mr. Kettilby to follow it, and to do his best to get in the arrears, whereof he hath a note. I never received a penny from the living in my journeys to and fro. Mr. Kettilby received about £40 a year. He now preacheth at Needham (the market town and part of the parish) where there is a chapel, and he is well approved of. If he would do his best, he might prevail with many of them to get in the arrears; and I think gratitude and ingenuity should oblige him to it, for my bringing him into those parts. He is well provided for. If my arrears can be got in, I intend that the poor of the parish shall have a share, though I am out more than I shall receive.]

In a Letter written (as I take it) to Mr. Newburgh.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

Yours I received by Mr. R., a large expression of the largeness of your heart and friendly love. I rejoiced thereby to understand your health and safety, as also the health and strength of the inner man by your preparedness to help and relieve your neighbours in the best way you can, if the cup of this great affliction should come unto them. But for any personal visiting of such, it is

not for you, it is for others, whose office and calling doth more particularly oblige them thereunto.

To your enquiry about what outward means we used, this was all¹:—a little of conserve of wood sorrel and

¹ Worthington does not appear to have adopted Dr. Hodges's preventive, whose *Methodus Medendi* seems to have been derived from that eminent professor Sir John Falstaff. His concluding laudation of sack in the following curious account of the Doctor's mode of life and visiting his patients during the plague, may be compared with Sir John's well-known panegyric. "Dr. Nathaniel Hodges, who wrote the best account of the plague in England, stood the storm throughout the year 1665; he was not only a constant looker on, but as constant in his visits to the infected. So soon as the doctor arose, which was very early, he took the quantity of a nutmeg of his anti-pestilential electuary; and after the dispatch of private business in his family, he went into a large room where crouds of citizens were always waiting for him, and there he commonly spent two or three hours as in an hospital, examining the several conditions and circumstances of all who came thither,—some of which had ulcers yet unured, others to be advised under the first symptoms of the seizure; all which he endeavoured to dispatch with all possible care. As soon as the croud should be discharged, he judged it not proper to go out fasting, and therefore got his breakfast; after which, till dinner-time, he visited the sick at their houses, where entering, he had immediately some proper thing burnt upon coals, and always kept in his mouth a lozenge whilst he was examining the patients: he used no hot things for alexipharmics, as myrrh, zedoary, angelica, ginger, or the like, by which many deceived themselves, and raised inflammations on their tonsils, and endangered their lungs. He took care not to go into any sick persons' rooms when he sweated, or was short-breathed with walking, and kept his mind as composed as possible, being sufficiently warned by such as had grievously suffered by uneasiness in that respect. After some hours visiting, he returned home. Before dinner he always had a glass of sack to warm the stomach, refresh the spirits, and dissipate any lodgment of the infection. An ancient apothecary, very conversant with the doctor, almost always his companion, assured Dr. Turner that, in visiting the sick, they often took five or six gills a piece of the choicest canary in taking their rounds, before they returned home to dinner; and that the doctor, when he was got ad hilaritatem, would enter without fear into any infected families where the apothecary durst not accompany him, but rather chose to wait at the sack-shop till the doctor returned from his last visit for the forenoon, and brought him his orders. It was their custom to see their glasses well washed with the best white wine vinegar, and having taken each his quarter of a pint, to drop their money into a vessel of water, placed for that purpose: so that, in all likelihood, they might each drink his bottle of this nectar daily, between the hours of rising and lying down to rest. Dr. Hodges chose meats that gave an easy and generous nourishment, roasted rather than boiled, and pickles, not only suited to the meats, but the nature of the disease. He rarely rose from dinner without drinking more wine; after which

London treacle,¹ mixed together upon the point of a knife, we took first in mornings, and twice a day we fumed the house with brimstone.²

Afterwards it pleased a noble lady³ in Warwickshire (one whom I had heard much good of, but never was acquainted with) to send me and my family seven amulets. They were prepared and brought to me by a chemist near London, commended for a knowing and honest person (and he seemed to me to answer his character). His father and family in Germany were

he had persons waiting, as in the morning, for advice, and when they were dispatched, he visited again till eight or nine at night; and then concluded the evening at home by drinking to cheerfulness of his old favourite liquor, which encouraged sleep and an easy breathing through the pores in the night; and if in the day-time he found the appearance of infection upon him, by giddiness, loathing at stomach, or faintness, he immediately had recourse to a glass of wine, which presently drove these beginning disorders away by transpiration. In the whole course of the sickness he found himself ill but twice, and was soon cleared of its approaches by these means. Gratitude obliges me (says the doctor) to do justice to the virtues of sack, as it is deservedly ranked among the principal antidotes, whether drank by itself or impregnated with wormwood, angelica, &c., for I have never yet met with anything so agreeable to the nerves or spirits in all my experience. That which is best is middle-aged, neat, fine, bright, racy, and of a walnut flavour; and it is certainly true, that during the late fatal times, both the infected and the healthy found most benefit from it, unless they used it too intemperately." — *Historical Narrative of the Great Plague in London in 1665*, 8vo, pp. 208–12.

¹ "Dr. Salmon being in London all the plague time, cured many hundreds of that disease: he was not absent, or out of town, from the day the plague began to the day it ended, and had several thousand patients sick of that disease under his hands: he is confident he cured above twelve hundred patients, sick of the plague, only by giving them his London treacle, every night going to bed; and he believed not one of an hundred he gave it to died." — *Salmon's Select Cases*, p. 367.

² In the "Directions for the cure of the Plague," issued by the College of Physicians (1665, 4to), brimstone burnt plentifully in any room or place is recommended as effectually correcting the air; and, amongst other preventives, "some may use London treacle, the weight of eight pence, in the morning, taking more or less according to the age of the party; after an hour let them eat some other breakfast, as bread and butter, with some leaves of rue or sage moistened with vinegar, and in the heat of summer of sorrel, or wood-sorrel." Page 11.

³ Most probably Lady Conway.

more than once preserved by these, under God's blessing, as he said. They were done up in little silk bags to a string, and so to fall as to be under the left pap. These I laid aside for a time, not caring to meddle with them till I heard of some that went to visit who did wear such amulets, and till I knew what they were made of, which at his coming to me the second time I asked him, and he told me (as some physicians here did guess, and said there was no harm in them) and said they were of a dried toad (of which Van Helmont¹ writes) a creature that is spotted, and carries the signature of this contagion.² I had no persuasion of any great good to come thereby, but my great care was to inform myself whether they might not do hurt, and being well assured of this, we made use of five of them. Two we gave away, and five of us wore them. For, considering that they were sent to us without any desire or expectation of ours, and sent in kindness to us, when we had them, I thought we might do amiss in neglecting them, except we had good reason against the use of them. Two of them were worn by the children. It had no other sensible effect upon any of us but this:—The first day I used it, there seemed to be a little pulling, or drawing at that side; and one of the children (the girl) had, where the bag hung, a little breaking of the skin, with a dew coming out. And so I have heard of some in Hackney that used to go up and down with such amulets about them, that those had the like effect upon them, in greater abundance of moisture.³

¹ J. B. Van Helmont, who informs us that he learned the remedy of dried toads from one Butler, an Irish physician, who pretended to have cured many with it, but he could not thoroughly learn the secret because the man was banished soon after. "The powder of toads," says Hodges, "was prodigiously extolled."

² According to the doctrine of Crollius, Hartman, and others, who held that each disease had a corresponding signature in some animal, vegetable, or mineral substance, which was thus specifically appropriated as its means of cure.

³ On the subject of wearing amulets as preservatives against the plague, the medical

To my highly honoured friend Dr. Worthington, &c.

[From J. Newburgh.]

Honoured Sir,

Yours of October 31st brought me as much satisfaction in the happy tidings of your safety and preservation in these sad times,

writers of this period differed. Gideon Harvey, in his Discourse of the Plague (1665, 4to), sagely observes: "Amulets are commended by some and disproved by others," p. 22. Theod. Le Medde, M.D., in his "Elixyrlogia" (1665, 4to), concludes in very oracular language, "that amulets are of use is not to be disputed, but it may be a question whether these minerals, shut up within their intranspirable ocluders, do irradiate or beam forth spirituous vapors: if they do not, what use can they be of? If they be placed or borne about the body, and do emit and send forth any spirituous and thin parts, we may suppose them of ill consequence, but being placed about the body, if their spirits emitted could be made friendly to ours, but in reasonable proportion of homogenitie, they might be of excellent use where the cause is ab extra." (We trust Theod. Le Medde, M.D., near as his name approached to that of the expounder of the Apocalypse, was not Worthington's physician.) William Kemp, of Holborn, Master of Arts, in his "Brief Treatise of the Pestilence" (1665, 4to), tells us that "amulets are worn upon the breast because the heart is the place principally affected in this disease: but whence and how they have their operation, the learned differ in opinion. Some think that the heart becomes thereby somewhat more familiar and accustomed to poison, and will not so easily be hurt or overcome by it. Others are of opinion that arsenick and such like hot things, whereof amulets are made, do dry up noxious humours and disperse offensive vapors, as we see the heat of fire dryeth moisture and hinders putrefaction. Others think that these amulets, being placed near the heart, the vital spirits do thereupon by a certain averseness and antipathy unite themselves together and become the stronger; as we see springs and fountains, by reason of the coldness of the ambient air in winter time, do keep in all their heat and even smoke with warmth. Others say it is done by attraction, and these amulets by a kind of sympathy do intercept the pestilential vapors before they can be received into the body, or else presently draw them out before they can settle there to do any mischief to the heart, it being in this case as with one that is stricken of a viper or scorpion, who is best cured by applying and binding to the place the bruised body of the beast that stung him, and if they cannot get that they apply some other venomous creature and the party will presently be relieved as if the venom had been drawn out by a cupping glass. But, whatsoever the cause be, they are much commended, and Mercurialis saith that Pope Adrian the Sixth did wear one. (He then gives the different amulet prescriptions of Mercurialis, Skenkius, Sennertus, and Rhenanus, in which white arsenick seems to be the principal ingredient.) *I need not tell you that you must not eat them, but sew them in a little silk bag, fastening it to a ribbon and hanging it about your*

as it was dissatisfaction to me so long to be ignorant of the mercy God hath hitherto vouchsafed to you and yours. I can assure you I do not know any news relating to a private person ever since the beginning of the contagion (which our sins have drawn upon the nation) that affected me with so great joy. I pray God continue his goodness to you, which I trust, for the good of many souls, will not be withdrawn. I cannot but particularly rejoice in your heroic and truly generous resolution, which hath kept you constant to your flock in these perilous times.¹ Doubtless you could not have done yourself or them right in following the steps of those divines who left them to themselves in such a day of trial.² For my own part,

neck, let it be about the middle of your breast. You are to avoid all violent exercise and overheating of yourself, for fear of growing fainty while you wear it. I have known some of these worn in the city of Bristol in the time of the plague, and the parties sometimes would have little pimples like the itch rise about the breadth of the amulet in their breast, which they rub and scratch, but never had the plague, and are alive till now." Thomas Cock, in his "Plain and Practical Discourse upon the first of the Six Nonnaturals" (1665, 4to), gives a qualified opinion on the subject. He says: "Amulets have not as yet gained universal and uncontrolled repute in the world. Galen saith, as deleteries they are inimical to nature, especially if the party that wears them be given to much labour, exercise, or motion; neither can I advise such, if any, with hope of good success to use them; but suppose they be made of alexiteries, then Galen nor any judicious person doth or ever did dispute or question them. And those that have written and argued (not without cause) against deleterious and poisonous amulets made of toads, arsenick, quicksilver, &c., yet do they highly allow of such as are alexiterical and cardiac" (pp. 13, 14). In this multitude of counsellors, Worthington seems to have acted upon the conviction, which he might very safely do, that dried toad in the form of an amulet could do no harm, while the effect of using it would be, which was in itself important, to give confidence to the members of his household; and let it be remembered that our great philosopher, Boyle, used the moss of a dead man's skull as an external remedy, and endeavours to show how the effluvia, even of cold amulets, may pervade the pores of a living animal by supposing an agreement between the pores of the skin and figure of the corpuscles.

¹ "A great number of learned, able, and pious divines of the establishment maintained their stations with primitive zeal and fervor, among whom the names of Dr. Walker, Dr. Horton, Dr. Meriton, Dr. Symon Patrick (afterwards Bishop of Ely) will be respected and revered."—*Historical Narrative of the Great Plague*, Lond. 1769, 8vo, p. 321. The name of Worthington ought to have been added to those of the four exemplary divines above mentioned.

² "Great was the reproach thrown upon the church clergy, to whom some people

Jan. 15. Mrs. Stonier, the clerk's wife of Benet Fynk, died of the plague. She fell sick on Jan. 7 in the evening; in the morning I saw her in the house, and she seemed well.

Jan. 21. I preached at Benet Fynk. This day my uncle John Worthington was buried at Bowden, Cheshire.

Jan. 30. I preached on Lament. i. 12 at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. Feb. 4, 7, 11. I preached at Benet Fynk, and Feb. 18, 25. Feb. 28, at St. Faith's.

In a Letter to Dr. Evans, Jan. 18 or 20, 1665-6.

[From Dr. Worthington,]

I have been full of thoughts what to resolve in answer to yours, and the circumstances I am in have occasioned that thoughtfulness. Had Mr. Spearing been in town that I might have spoken with him, or were we not in the dark about Dr. Wa: as yet, it would be more easy to resolve. He came to town lately, but the sickness increasing, he stayed not. He told some of the parish that he desired nothing for the time he was absent (they did not mean to give him anything, because he made no provision for them, but they provided as they could) and when he came to town he desired only ten shillings a sermon, as they gave to others. He said that the parish being not full, many being yet in the country, he thought by Lady day they would be returned, and then they and he should be resolved about the matter. But some of them question whether he will ever return to fix with them. However, if Lady day were come, and there had been a meeting about this business, I could better resolve what to do about taking the lease¹ of Benet Fynk. Or if Mr. Spearing were in town and

¹ Of the glebe belonging to this living, with the buildings which were burnt down afterwards in the fire of London.

would let me have it as a sub-tenant under him (now this better to be asked, before he hath such a thing, than after) the first tenant taking it from the College, or, if I might so hold it under you, I should like it better than if I had it immediately from the College; not but that I would bear all the incident charges. Although the College was thinking (as I remember you once told me) to determine him that hath the lease to the cure; yet, if another than him would personally attend the cure, I suppose their end was attained, to prevent former inconveniences, when it was let to one that would not or was not in a capacity to attend the cure. Where the sub-tenant is in a capacity and as ready to attend the cure (whilst he is a sub-tenant) as the other, the College is as well secured about the supply of the place, as if the tenant himself did attend. If it were no inconvenience to you, I could wish that you would hold it a little longer. I hope by that time to understand something of some place to retire into, in case I see no likelihood of public employment in these parts, or in the city. It is true that several in the parish desire my being here, and to preach also in the afternoon; but I see not how a competency will be well settled, especially if the sickness increaseth, for then the most able will go into the country again. For that half year from Midsummer to Christmas, very little came in, scarce £7. If it be necessary that you must surrender (else no dealing with Dr. B.¹) far be it from me to desire your inconvenience. I am sensible of your kindness in keeping the title so long, and giving me an opportunity of service and the receiving of the profits, which, if they had been more, would have pleased you better. If therefore some one must be

¹ Dr. Brideoak, before noticed, is probably here intended, as in right of his Windsor canonry he would be interested in St. Benet Fink.

mentioned for the place to prevent snapping upon your surrender, and to secure against unavoidable inconveniences, you can tell how your Dean and others stand affected towards me. If Dr. Hollis had been alive, he might have known what kindness the Bishop of London, as also the Archbishop (both of whom recommended me, by your letter, to the Earl of Warwick) hath expressed towards me, desiring my abode in the city. I would be loth to undergo that pains and labour I once took for your library,¹ upon the condition of gaining a place for them which hath been of no more value than the tithes of this place of Benet Fynk. If a stranger should have it, I doubt it would signify but little to him, especially if the sickness increase, to make such a scattering as it did the last year. If you think it in vain to nominate me, who have ventured my life in ministering to that place during the plague, and have gone in cold and wet and foggy mists many Sunday mornings to London, I had rather not be mentioned, but Mr. Spearing, if he is more likely to secure it from other attempts—though it were better if he were first acquainted with it, but he is not yet returned to London. In the mean while I know not what else to say than what I have said now and in my letter to Dr. Ingelo last Saturday per post. You and he may pick, perhaps, somewhat out of this confused paper and that letter, and judge upon the whole matter what is best to be done in these circumstances. I wish the place here may be secured against an unfit person. Though there are not many rich in the parish, yet they are generally a good conditioned people. I thank you for kindness about Wolverhampton. Old Mr. Walker represented it as far more. It is fittest for some in those parts: I know not how soon I may come to be near

¹ The library at Windsor.

that part of England. If the Chancery sit at Windsor Castle, you will better know what is to be done, or not done. I suppose Mr. Wren comes along with the Chancellor.¹ He hath been spoken to by his two great friends, the Bishop of Exeter and Dr. Wilkins, concerning me. His answer to them was, that he thought that in Essex would be sure to me. But of that there is very little likelihood, and the less now that the sickness increaseth and is likely to do; so that a city life will be less desirable to them that can live in the country. Dr. Brideoak is well acquainted with Mr. Wren. I hear he hath resigned Whitney² donative, that stood so conveniently for any one that would have delighted to have studied at Oxford library. I suppose he hath hopes of some bishopric, and then the rest of his places go too. Mrs. Stonier died last Monday about noon, and he (Mr. Stonier) continues well as yet.—

*For my honoured friend Dr. More, at the Lord Conway's at Ragley,
Warwick.*

[From Dr. Worthington.]

Sir,

Yours of Jan. 16th I received, and sent away the enclosed by the Tuesday post. I intend shortly to write into France, and if

¹ Mr. Wren was his secretary.

² Dr. Brideoak, who was in possession of this rich living, which he resigned on obtaining higher preferment, had other objects in view than "to study at Oxford Library":—

"— his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
In vision beatific."

I have more news from France, shall send more to you. I met last Sunday a French minister, and enquiring of him about that passage in a late gazette, which spake of what the parliament had done concerning the children of Protestants of twelve years of age,¹ he said it was a favour lately obtained of the French king, for before the like was done when they were but six years old. As for the Apocalyptic Hymn, how notable are you at guessing my inward thoughts! I confess I could not but desire that you had leisure and a mind to put it into verse, but I did not, I think, so much as intimate it. Mr. Woodford,² a young gentleman in Hampshire, of

¹ He alludes to the decree of the 24th October, 1665, by which boys at fourteen years of age, and girls at twelve, were declared to be capable of embracing the Roman Catholic religion, and parents were under the obligation of providing them with an alimentary allowance to maintain them out of their houses. But the abjurations of many children were received before the specified age, and to support them the Advocates General took a distinction between "inducing" children to change religion, and receiving them when they presented themselves by a voluntary impulse.

² Samuel Woodford was born in London in 1636, became a Commoner of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1653. About 1658 he was resident at the Inner Temple, where he was Chamber Fellow, Wood informs us (vol. iv. p. 730), with Thomas Flatman, the poet. In 1669 he took holy orders, and ultimately became Prebendary of Winchester by the favour of his great patron, Morley, Bishop of Winchester. He died in 1700. His writings consist of: 1. A Poem on the return of Charles the Second, 1660; 2. Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David, 1667, 4to; 3. Paraphrase on the Canticles, with other Poems, 1679, 8vo. Woodford's Paraphrases and Poems, though they have little title to the extravagant praises bestowed by his friend Flatman, are by no means deficient in happy passages, and would afford room for some very pleasing extracts. I must, however, confess that his prose is to me more attractive than his poetry. His introductions to his Paraphrases on the Psalms and on the Canticles will always be read with interest, and show that he had studied attentively the laws of metre and the poets of our own and other countries. In the introduction to the latter (published in 1679) after observing of Milton's *Paradise Lost* that "it shall live as long as there are men left in our English world to read and to understand it," he gives it as his opinion that "if the author had thought fit to give it the adornments of rhythm and not avoided them so religiously, as any one may perceive he now and then does, to the debasing of his great sense, it had been so absolute a piece that in spite of whatever the world, heathen or Christian, hitherto has seen, it must have remained as the standard to all succeeding poets and poesy." He instances as an example of verse which is in fact prose, and which he prints as such, Eve's address to Adam, "To whom thus Eve replied" (*Paradise Lost*, book iv. line 440), and of prose which is in truth

Wadham College in Dr. Wilkins's time (at whose house I have met with him) hath lately done all the Psalms into Pindaric odes and other varieties of verse. Some of them I have seen, and they are done very well. He is a virtuous person. He tasked himself to a Psalm every week. I have part of Mr. Tillotson's¹ printed against Serjeant.² It will prove a notable piece. Mr. Stillingfleet's Appen-

verse, the passage in Milton's *Apology from Smectymnus*, commencing, "Then zeal, whose substance is ethereal," &c. He designs to show by these examples, the first of which is, certainly, most unhappily selected for his purpose, that "take away rhythm from our English poetry, and it remains undistinguishable by any other character from prose; at least not so distinct but that through the masquerade it may be discovered, having the manly limbs of this, though it may be the softer habit of the other."—Preface to *Paraphrase upon the Canticles*.

¹ This very able work of Tillotson was entitled "*The Rule of Faith*," and was written in answer to Serjeant's "*Sure Footing*." It was published, with an appendix by Stillingfleet, in 1666, 8vo.

² A life of John Serjeant, otherwise called Smith, and sometimes Holland, who was born at Barrow in Lincolnshire circ. 1621 and died in 1701, will be found in Dodd's *Catholic Church History*, vol. iii. p. 472, but a separate and more detailed life of this voluminous Roman Catholic author, who died, Dodd tells us, "with his pen in his hand," is a great desideratum. He was the very genius of controversy, and there was no great English Protestant writer of his own time that he did not encounter. As if it were not sufficient to be pitted against Hammond, Bramhall, Jeremy Taylor, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Whitby, Pierce, and Tenison, he got into fierce conflict with Talbot, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who endeavoured to represent his doctrine as heterodox, especially concerning the *Rule of Faith*. A very curious account of the proceedings in relation to Talbot's charges against him is contained in Serjeant's "*Clypeus Septemplex*" (Duaci, 1677, 12mo), his "*Vindiciæ alteræ*" (12mo), and in a later work of his, of great scarcity, which appears to have escaped Dodd and other historians altogether, entitled "*Raillery defeated by calm Reason*" (Lond. 1699, 12mo), in which he gives an interesting narrative of the whole transaction. His metaphysical writings, in which he attacks Anthony le Grand and Locke's "*Essay on the Human Understanding*," were written at a very advanced age, but show no falling off in the subtlety, ingenuity, and acuteness which mark his works in theological controversy. I have Locke's copy of Serjeant's "*Solid Philosophy asserted*," 1697, 8vo, the margins of which are filled with answers in Locke's autograph to the animadversions contained in that book. It is somewhat strange that neither these nor his manuscript notes on the pamphlets of Dr. Thomas Burnett of the Charter-house, written against the "*Essay*," which are also in my possession, have ever been published or noticed by his biographers. Of Serjeant's works, Dodd gives a long but very imperfect and confused list. It is to be hoped that in the new edition of the

dix goes along with it. Mr. Pool¹ (a silenced minister in London) hath lately published a book called the Nullity of the Romish Faith, with an Appendix, answering what is in Rushworth,² White,³

"Catholic Church History" the biographical part, which at present is very defective, will receive the improvement and correction which it so evidently requires, but when are we to expect that this edition will be completed?

¹ See vol. i. p. 26, for a notice of Matthew Pool, the learned compiler of the *Synopsis Criticorum*.

² William Rushworth was born in Lincolnshire, educated at Douay, and became a Catholic priest. He died in 1687. — (Dodd, vol. iii. p. 92.) His "Judgment of Common Sense in the choice of Religion by way of Dialogue," was, with the addition of a fourth dialogue, published by Thomas White (Paris, 1654, 12mo), and was one of the most popular and influential works on the Roman Catholic side of the question which the seventeenth century produced.

³ Dodd's notice of the life and list of the works of this celebrated Catholic writer (vol. iii. p. 285) are, as usual, very deficient. He deserves, and materials exist for, a fuller and more satisfactory biography. He was the second son of Richard White, of Hutton in Essex, Esquire, and Mary his wife, daughter of the famous Plowden, the lawyer. He was educated at St. Omer's, Valladolid, and went afterwards to Douay and appears to have taught divinity there, but returning to England devoted himself to theological and philosophical pursuits. He died at his lodgings in Drury Lane, London, July 6th, 1676, aged 94. Long as the list of his works is (Dodd mentions forty-eight, and his list does not comprise all), there is scarcely any of them, whether the subject is of a philosophical, theological, or ethical nature, which may not be taken up with some degree of interest. He was, as is well known, a follower of Sir Kenelm Digby, and, as Thomas Anglus, or Albius, and Mr. Blackloe, was constantly before the public in a didactic or controversial capacity. As to subjects, all were alike to him; and he could write one day on squaring the circle, the next on the Torricellian experiment, and wind up with the Pope's infallibility and the freedom of the will. He had many a skirmish with Hobbes, who had a great respect for him, and when he lived in Westminster would often visit him. In their conversations they carried on their debates with such eagerness as seldom to depart in cool blood, for "they would wrangle, squabble, and scold," says Anthony Wood, "about philosophical matters, like young sophisters," though they were both of them eighty years of age. The scholars who were present at these wrangling disputes held that the laurel was generally, in consequence of Hobbes's impatience of contradiction, carried away by his opponent. White wrote English with elegance and perspicuity. His "Grounds of Obedience and Government" (Lond. 1665, 12mo) will bear a comparison with Hobbes's writings, and was certainly the best book written at that time in favour of submission to Oliver Cromwell's government. Nothing can manifest more clearly the want of care and research in English biography than the fact that neither in Dodd nor the long life of Sir Kenelm Digby in the *Biographia Britannica*, nor indeed in any other biographer or

Cressy,¹ &c., about infallibility. It is much commended. He was sometime my pupil at Emmanuel College, and a nimble youth then.

historian, as far as I can trace, is any notice taken of the most curious and interesting collection of letters of Sir K. Digby, Thomas White, and others, published by Dr. Pugh under the title of "Blacklo's Cabal, discovered in several of their Letters, clearly expressing designs inhuman against Regulars, unjust against the Laity, schismatical against the Pope, cruel against orthodox Clergymen, and owning the nullity of the Chapter, their opposition to Episcopal Authority," the second edition of which very rare work, printed 1680, 4to (pages 126), is in my possession. This collection ought undoubtedly to be reprinted, as it throws the greatest light on the history of the time as well as the characters of Digby and White. At page 88 is Sir Kenelm Digby's case, written by himself. Pugh, in his "Epistle to the Catholic reader," prefixed to the book, observes of White, but evidently under the influence of strong prejudice: "His temper was a deep melancholy, which he increased by his continual studies. He had a good wit, yet clouded with a certain natural obscurity, which accompanied him in all his writings, which he found too tough an imperfection for him to overcome. Some think he affected it that his sentiments, not being understood, might be more esteemed; others, that that might give occasion of divers interpretations of his meaning and beget several schools, as there are several in Aristotle. In his conversation he affected a certain gravity, or stoical apathia, when he was amongst his admirers, but when he met with such as disliked his doctrine, none more violent than he, as appeared by what he writ against Dr. Leybourn, myself, Dr. Daniel, the Cardinals, and the Pope himself; so he verified his own saying, *Nec Dicum parcimus ulli*. At last, in a very great age, when he had outlived his greatest disciples, his doctrine, and his own understanding (he was grown a mere child again), he died as several of his chief disciples had done, sine cruce, sine luce, without giving any sign of a Christian, which shall appear more at large in his life, which I have almost ready for the press." Pugh writes too much like a violent partisan to be altogether credited, but his Life of White, if it still exist, would be a valuable accession to Catholic biography.

¹ Hugh Cressy was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire in 1605, went to Oxford, and entering into orders became Chaplain to the Earl of Strafford. In 1638 he went over into Ireland in the quality of Chaplain to Lucius Cary, Lord Viscount Falkland, and came back with him into England the year following. In 1642 he was made a Canon of Windsor and Dean of Loughlin in Ireland, but travelling with Charles Berkley, afterwards Earl of Falmouth, on the Continent, he was converted to the Roman Catholic faith, and made a public recantation before the Inquisition at Rome in 1646. On the marriage of Charles II. with the Infanta of Portugal, Cressy became one of her chaplains and resided for the most part in Somerset House, but towards the close of his life he retired to East Grinstead in Sussex, and died at the seat of Richard Caryl, Esq., August 10th, 1674. A list of his works will be seen in Dodd (vol. iii. p. 307). His "Exomologesis, or a Faithful Narration of the Occasions and Motives of his Conversion to Catholic Unity" (Paris, 1647, 12mo), is certainly a skilful, and was

It was licensed and printed at Oxford. The Bishop of Winchester commends it much. I hear that the same Bishop hath some of Mr. Chillingworth's MSS.¹ I would fain engage Dr. Bates, now

long considered by those of his own faith an unanswerable, defence of the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Hammond, to whom he sent a copy, told him that there was a vein of fallacy which ran through the whole contexture of it, but added, "We are friends, and I do not propose to be your antagonist." At the close of his letter he invited Cressy into England, assuring him that he should be provided with a convenient place to dwell in and a sufficient subsistence to live comfortably, without being molested by any about his religion and conscience. — (Chalmers's Biog. Dict. vol. x. p. 512.) His "Church History of Brittany, from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest" (Rouen, 1668, folio), with all its apocryphal legends, is still a very pleasing, and in many respects valuable, old folio, the contents of which no one was better acquainted with than the late Robert Southey, with whom the writer had an interesting conversation on the subject of this work, when he visited Manchester some years before his death. Cressy's "Epistle Apologetical to a Person of Honour," 1674, 8vo, contains many notices of a personal kind which deserve to find a place in his biography, and his "Sancta Sophia," extracted from forty small treatises of Father Baker (Douay, 1657, 2 vols. 12mo), has long been a favourite work with those who cultivate mystical theology. There seems to have been something peculiarly amiable and attractive in Cressy's personal character. Even those who dissented from him and were involved in controversy with him, generally write of him in terms of kindness and respect.

¹ Probably those which were afterwards in the possession of Henry Wharton, and purchased from him and presented to the Lambeth Library, where they are now to be found, by Archbishop Tenison. From these, various additions have been made to the successive editions of Chillingworth's works. Oxford has the honour of having produced this admirable logician, whose "Religion of the Protestants, a Safe Guide to Salvation," will last as long as the language in which it is written, and in which no finer displays of reasoning, conveyed in more lucid and perspicuous diction, have yet been produced. He was born, Wood tells us, in St. Martin's parish, in a little house on the north side of the conduit at Quatervois, in October, 1602. His death took place, under the painful circumstances which have been so frequently narrated, in January, 1643, when he had only just before attained his fortieth year. His life has been written at large by Des Maizeaux (Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth, Lond. 1725, 8vo), and the events of it are so well known that it is quite unnecessary to recapitulate them. Whenever the name of Chillingworth is mentioned, that of his persecutor Cheyuel will accompany it, not to "Pursue the triumph and partake the gale,"

but to be gibbeted to the latest posterity. His Chillingworthi Novissima, that most extraordinary production, seems to have communicated some of its spirit to Mr. Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, who, in his "Origin of Arianism," seems quite

at Hackney,¹ (who is well skilled in Italian) to extract those passages out of the late history of the Council of Trent, written by Cardinal²

disposed to make a present of Chillingworth to the Socinians, and Dr. Kippis (see Biog. Brit. vol. v. corrigenda) on their part, with a readiness which is very amusing, is perfectly willing to accept him. Better reasons must, however, be afforded before the Church of England will consent to part with one of its greatest ornaments, even at the call of the most imaginative of antiquaries. Aubrey tells us that Chillingworth "was a little man, blackish hair, and of a saturnine countenance," with which description the portrait that Pennant has given (Journey from London to the Isle of Wight, vol. ii. p. 102) seems to agree. Of his collected works there have been several editions, but a new one is still needed, which shall include such letters and scattered pieces as yet remain in manuscript. No pains should be spared in editing, with the care and attention which his transcendent merits deserve, the author whom Tillotson has justly styled "the glory of his age and nation."

¹ William Bates, an eminent Nonconformist divine, was born in 1625 and died in July, 1699. For an account of him, see Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, vol. i. p. 687. Had he conformed, so excellent was his character, it is said he might have been raised to any bishopric in the kingdom. His moderation, sweetness of temper, and agreeable manners made him an universal favourite. His works, which are numerous, are not unworthy of his high reputation. His style is elegant and forcible, evidently formed upon the best models, and his language so modern that his discourses might be read at the present day without the hearer having any suspicion of the period when they were composed. He is indeed the classical writer of his party. Occasionally he rises into passages of high eloquence, and few writers could put an important point in fewer words with more startling effect than this great Nonconformist. No wonder that the Dissenters were proud of retaining such an honour to their cause. His Latin collection of the lives of eminent persons, "*Vitæ selectorum aliquot virorum*," Lond. 1681, 4to, will always cause his memory to be respected by the lovers of biography, to whom, by bringing together the dispersed materials comprised in this work, he has rendered most useful assistance. His residence during the latter part of his life was at Hackney, where he died.

² Sforza Pallavicino, created a Cardinal in 1657 by Pope Alexander the Seventh, who, in his "*Philomathi Musæ Juveniles*," addresses to him the pleasing lines, beginning

"Intermissa diu carmina et asperæ
Jam jam assueta lyre plectra silentio
Quis rursus vocat ad Mæonidum choras
Et me vatibus inserit," &c.

— (*Philomathi Musæ Juv.* edit. Paris, 1656, folio, p. 81.)

The great work of Pallavicino, who died in 1667 in his sixtieth year, is his "*History of the Council of Trent*," written in opposition to that of Father Paul, but which, in most respects, only serves to confirm it. Of this able and elaborate historical work,

Pallavicini (in opposition to Father Paul's¹ of Venice) which he saith would soon discover the ill conditions of that Council, as recorded by the Cardinal. I have been often desired to visit my native country (having not seen my friends there of ten years). It may be that I find it more desirable to retire thither, and to be gone out of these parts. If the sickness continues this year, the city will grow empty again, and will be no place for study; nor will there be any opportunities for any public agency in the way of learning, men's heads and hearts, in time of plague at home and wars abroad, being full of other cares. Nor will there be much of the tithes to be had, many being abroad, and those that stay being less able; as I found that from Midsummer to Michaelmas (a quarter of the greatest danger) all that I received was less than what I paid the Reader. And yet I would not have been without those better advantages which the sorrowful occasion the last summer did minister to the minds of those that were here, far beyond the pleasures then to be had in the country. If I meet with a little Zoar in the north, I hope to do more than preach, which is the lesser part of the work I

and unquestionably it is a very eminent performance, the best edition, in the Italian original, is that of Milan, 1717, 4to, three volumes; and in the Latin version, that printed in 1775, three volumes folio.

¹ Of Father Paul (otherwise Paul Sarpi) and his famous historical work, notices will be found in every Biographical Dictionary. Let it be remembered as one of the merits of King James I., whom now it is the fashion, with what fairness or justice is another question, never to name without abuse, that we owe it to him principally that this admirable history was compiled and published. Probably no work was more generally read or had greater effect in England in the seventeenth century, and it may be almost doubted whether there was any collection of books, however limited, which did not contain it. The Italian original was first printed at London in 1619, folio; the sheets being forwarded, Walton tells us, as fast as they were written, into England by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Bedell, and others, to King James and the Archbishop (Abbot). The good old English translation by Sir N. Brent, the last edition of which appeared in 1676, folio, has long been superseded by Father le Courayer's French version, which was published with his valuable notes at London in 1738, in two volumes folio. Twelve sheets of an English translation, in 4to, by Dr. Samuel Johnson were printed in 1738, but it did not proceed further. Of Father Paul's entire works, the best edition is that published at Naples in 1790, in twenty-four volumes 8vo.

have to do, and which cannot be so minded and expedited here (if this summer prove like the last) as there. I cannot be too sensible of my omissions, and of the little I have done for the good of others. It ought to have been much more; and being now in the afternoon of my life, I ought to redeem my time, and to labour more in God's vineyard; and it concerns me as well to improve my one talent, as others to lay out their two or five talents, none of us to be unprofitable. I must answer for myself, and they for themselves, in the other world. God grant that I may ever seek his kingdom and righteousness first, and the enlargement thereof in the world, and then I shall have no cause to be solicitous about other matters. Nobody will be a loser by me, but I shall lose by the want of others. Yet I would have no friend troubled for anything that concerns me. I cannot see that any afflictions that I have met with could have been spared, and that it could have been so well for me to have been without them. There is far more danger in an uninterrupted, flourishing, high condition, than in that which is otherwise. I wrote in my last that the second volume of *Episcopius*¹ is lately come over, a larger volume than the other. *Polemburgius*² hath a

¹ The life of the illustrious Arminian and remonstrant, Simon *Episcopius*, whose writings will connect the images of truth and liberty with his name more lastingly than the medals which were struck in honour of him after his decease, has been ably written by Philip Limborch in Latin, and a few years ago, in an industrious and praiseworthy manner, by the Rev. F. Calder in English (1835, 8vo); and those who consult either will be at no loss to form a distinct and satisfactory idea of the career and merits of this luminary of the seventeenth century, whose *Institutions* Grotius valued so highly that he carried them with him wherever he went, and from whom our own Hales, Hammond, and a long succession of great and memorable theologians may be said to have imbibed much of their spirit, principles, and character. He was born at Amsterdam in 1633, and died on the 4th of April, 1643. His works are comprized in two volumes folio, first printed at Amsterdam 1650-65, and afterwards reprinted at London in 1678. Those contained in the first volume had been published in his lifetime, those in the second were partly posthumous.

² Arnold Polemburg, a learned Arminian, and a successor of *Episcopius* as Professor of Divinity at Amsterdam. In Nichols's "*Calvinism and Arminianism Compared*," 1824, 8vo, p. 506, an extract is given from a letter from Polemburg on King Charles the Second's restoration, which is worth consulting, with Dr. H. More's letter to him, which is given at p. 796.

preface to the reader, wherein he saith he had a great desire to dedicate it to the Bishops in England, but that the war between us, &c., made it unseasonable. 'There is but little trading in books, and like to be till the times are quieter and more healthful. Dr. Spurstow¹ came at Christmas, to his house at Hackney, yesterday went to London, and came back in his coach about six. He ate his supper, seemed as well and cheerful as usually, a little afterwards went up to his chamber, and within an hour died of a fit of the colic. I did not think to have wearied you with so long a letter. It is time to conclude, and to add only that I am

Yours to serve you,

Jan. 24, 1665[-6].

J. Worthington.

These for his Rev. friend Dr. Evans.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

Yours I received, and am glad that you still continue your title. If Mr. Spearing will let me have a lease from him, or (which is less about) if I might hold it under you, who already have the lease, it would be easiest for me. You know in our College-leases there was often granted a licence of alienation to an under-tenant. Though your College doth not intend to practise this ordinarily, yet is it not to be gained for this once for one that hath a long time been constant to the work of the place, and is not a stranger newly come

¹ William Spurstow was one of the authors of the famous Smectymnus tracts, the two last letters of which word are designed for the initial letters of his Christian name and surname. He was likewise one of the Assembly of Divines, and afterwards one of the Commissioners at the Savoy. He had been Master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, but was deprived of his mastership for refusing the engagement. Besides his share in Smectymnus, he printed a treatise on the Promises, 1659, 12mo, and several sermons. His "Spiritual Chymist in Six Decades of Meditations," 1666, 12mo, is, perhaps, the most pleasing of his published works. What an interesting book might be compiled from extracts of the various English authors in this style of composition, beginning with Bishop Hall!

to the place? By this means the College will be secured concerning the discharge of the place as if you yourself were present. And it may be represented that it is not certain but that I may ere long be disposed elsewhere, and then if there seem any inconvenience herein (though I see none) it may not last long. But if it publicly appear that I am engaged to this, and newly promoted to it, others that are thoughtful for my disposal elsewhere will conclude that I am fixed here, and so their endeavours for me elsewhere (which they have in their thoughts) would cease or cool. Mr. Turner¹ is going away from St. Faith's, and I was thinking to mention Mr. Spearing to some of the parish (which takes in Paul's Churchyard and part of Paternoster Row and Ivy Lane). I am told that the tithes are above £60 per annum and well paid, and that they use to add to them, that the income will make about seven score pounds a year. Are you acquainted with the Master of the Rolls? He allowed Mr. Stillingfleet £100 a year for a few sermons in the year. Some friends have told me that such a place being added to Benet Fynk would be a good advantage and not require much labour. Mr. Stonier and his family continue well since the death of his wife. You enquire concerning books, and what done in the commonwealth of learning. Few make any such inquiries, or mind such matters, being rather intent about being rich or great in the world, or living a life of pleasure and ease. Since the plague, little hath been done at the press, and since the wars few books have come over. I know of none but the second volume of Episcopus, a large book (about 30s. price) and a thin folio of Brenius,² one of his scholars, but afterwards

¹ Brian Turner, collated to this living August 9th, 1662, enjoyed it till the church was burnt down in 1666, soon after which he voided it by taking another living in the country. — *Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 350.

² Daniel Brenius was born in 1594, and became a pupil and follower of Episcopus. He seems to have exercised no public function, but to have been employed as corrector of the press, and to have lived many years at Amsterdam, where he died in 1664. (Book, *Hist. Antitrinitariorum*, vol. i. p. 72.) His works were published at Amsterdam, in one volume folio, in 1666, the contents of which are particularized by Book. He appears to have been classed amongst Socinian writers, principally from the "*Amica disputatio adversus Judæos*," 1644, 4to. There is little doubt, nevertheless,

Socinianized, containing short notes upon the Old and New Testaments, with several tracts at the end which some commend (above 20s. price). Mr. Tillotson's book against Sargeant will be finished this term, to which will be added two tracts of Mr. Stillingfleet's and Mr. Whitby's.¹ Dr. Castell returns to London to-morrow, and to his work. If there were any great care for the encouragement of the studious and the advancement of learning, he would have been before this in better circumstances, and his work would have more

that this treatise was not written by Brenius, but by Martin Buarus. Amongst his works deserving of notice, not included in the collection published in 1666, is "*Speculum Christianum virtutum et compendium Theologiæ Erasmi, ex Erasmi scriptis concinnatum*" (Rot. 1677, 16mo), an excellent little compendium.

¹ Few writers ever carried on controversy for a longer period than Daniel Whitby whose first publication in answer to Cressy came out in 1662, and who continued to write books almost up to the time of his death, which took place in 1726, when he was eighty-eight. His piety, learning, and extensive charity will not be disputed, but his judgment, sagacity, and reasoning powers do not appear to have borne a due proportion to his extensive acquirements. With the exception of his "*Commentary on the New Testament*," which is still held in estimation and deserves to be so, and his *Discourse on the Five Points*, 1710, 8vo, his works can scarcely be said to have survived to the present day. Absorbed in his studies and controversies, he thought little of secular affairs. Wood, who in that respect recognizes him as a kindred spirit, praises him for not having allowed himself "leisure to mind any of those mean and trifling worldly concerns which administer matter of gain, pleasure, reach, and cunning." Certainly Parson Adams himself might have written the letter to Lady Vere (*Biog. Brit.* vol. vi. part ii. p. 4220), in which he tells her that "*the bounty and excess you was ever guilty of to me is increased by the coming of six pound of excellent tobacco, all which lie upon my conscience to be beyond my merit and reach of a just gratitude, had not he that made the soul accepted the utmost for proportion for himself. I shall not trouble you with lines and paper payment, but serve you with my prayers, and seek thereby the welfare of your honour and your numerous posterity, humbly craving pardon of any carriage or word from me not suitable to such a present.*" One of his biographers observes: "No man was more easily imposed upon; he knew just as much of the world as Lord Anson. Never was there a greater compound of learning and ignorance, sense and folly. He was unequal to himself even in literature. This obliged him, when young, to submit to a retraction respecting his '*Protestant Reconciler*;' and in age he espoused the opinions of Dr. Samuel Clarke respecting the divinity of Christ, contrary to his former strenuous orthodoxy." — (*Noble's Continuation of Grainger*, vol. ii. p. 112.) A full account of this learned and voluminous writer will be found in the *Biog. Brit.*

subscribers. And by this time Petit's labours upon Josephus would have been procured, concerning which I had an account (the same with what I had before) from Mr. Bright at Paris, to whom I purpose to send to-morrow. Mr. Ray (of Trinity College sometimes) is at Bordeaux, and there is Dr. Croon,¹ purposing to make haste into England. I doubt not but Mr. Ray is better enriched and fraught with observations than most that travel. He hath been in Germany, Italy, and, I think, Spain also, and is now in France.² Bee³ is zealous to begin a tenth⁴ and last volume of the *Critics*. He hath desired me and others to think of what books may be fit. I have thought of about twenty tracts. I wish (as you have occasion) you would speak and consult with any of your friends about books that deserve to come into this volume. He would not have them to be over large, because the index to the whole will take up a good part. Mr. Retchford hath almost finished it. I hear of one that hath some MSS. of Mr. Chillingworth's. I must renew my desire about a sight of that MS. of Mr. Hales's⁵ of Confession and Absolution. I hear it is not long, and therefore not tedious to transcribe. Or if you could by a safe hand (Mr. Spearing or some such) transmit the original to me, I shall be careful to return it. Pray think upon it. I sent two hymns to Dr. Ingelo, one in verse (I have six other

¹ Dr. William Croon, or Croon, one of the originators of the Royal Society. See vol. i. p. 247.

² He arrived in England from his travels abroad about the beginning of March, 1665-6. His account of his journey is given in his "*Observations Topographical, Moral, and Physiological, made in a Journey through part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and France, with a Catalogue of Plants, not native of England, found spontaneously growing in those parts, and their virtues,*" 1678, 8vo.

³ The eminent bookseller and publisher.

⁴ Of which invaluable collection of "*Critici Sacri*" nine volumes had been published, Lond. 1660, folio. The prosecution of a tenth volume was doubtless stopped by the fire of London, in which Bee was so large a sufferer.

⁵ This was first printed in the supplementary collection of Hales's Tracts, published in 1677, 8vo., and is there styled, "*A Tract concerning the Power of the Keys and Auricular Confession,*" dated from his study the 8th of March, 1637. Hales has, in this tract, given full scope to his wit and pleasantry.

hymns from the same hand).¹ This I would desire Mr. Rogers² or Dr. Child³ to do something about (according as I wrote then) if I were near them, to set one stanza or two stanzas to an easy tune. The other is in prose.⁴ I know not whether it can be done into verse; I am sure not by me, who never had an happy muse. It is so pointed as to be sung to the Psalms in prose; but though I have heard many of those tunes, I never could find above two that were

¹ Which would appear to be Dr. Henry More's. See Ward's *Life* of him, p. 354.

² This eminent musical composer (Benjamin Rogers) is noticed vol. i. p. 37. A full account of him, and criticisms on his compositions, will be found in Hawkins's *History of Music*, vol. iv. p. 59. Wood tells us that "Dr. Wilson, the professor, the greatest and most curious judge of music that ever was, usually wept when he heard Rogers's compositions well performed, as being wrapt up in an ecstasy, or, if you will, melted at the excellency of them." He further informs us, and it is too interesting a part of his narrative to be omitted, that Dr. Thomas Pierce, who had a great value for the man (he himself being a musician), invited him to Magdalen College and gave him the organist's place there, and he continued "in good esteem till 1685, and then being ejected (the reason why let others tell you) the society of that house allowed him a yearly pension to keep him from the contempt of the world; in which condition he now lives in his old age in a skirt of the city of Oxon unregarded." — (*Fasts*, vol. ii. p. 307.) The date of the death of this "most admirable musician," as Wood styles him, who was first brought forward and encouraged by Worthington's friend, Dr. Nathaniel Ingelo, does not seem to be known.

³ A portrait of this very celebrated composer of sacred music, Dr. William Child, with a biography of him, is given in Hawkins's *History of Music*, vol. iv. p. 414, and he is likewise noticed at some length by Burney in his "*History of Music*," vol. iii. p. 363. He was a native of Bristol, and after having been organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, sixty-five years, and produced many beautiful compositions, died in 1697 at the age of ninety. With a liberality which did him infinite credit, he paid the choir of St. George's Chapel on being paid, after a long delay, the arrears of his salary as organist. His epitaph is worth transcribing:

"Go, happy soul, and in thy seat above
Sing endless hymns of thy great Maker's love!
How fit in heavenly songs to bear a part,
Before well practis'd in the sacred art.
Whilst hearing us, sometimes the choir divine
Will sure descend and in our consort join,
So much the music thou to us hast given
Has made our earth to represent their heav'n."

⁴ This was by Worthington, and was printed with another prose hymn of his at the end of his "*Select Discourses*," Lond. 1725, 8vo, pp. 525-8.

tolerably musical. There might be made a better than any yet in use. Dr. Spurstow returned to Hackney about two weeks since. He went to London yesterday, came home about six, ate his supper and was cheerful as usually, went up to his chamber, and within an hour or (less) was alive and dead. He died of a fit of the colic. This is all I have of news at present; and the last clause minds us how much it imports us to be doing *ὡς καιρον εχουμεν*. With our remembrances to you and yours I rest

Yours affectionately,

Jan. 24, 1665-6.

J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

To his honoured friend Dr. Evans, at Windsor Castle,

Feb. 12, 1665-6.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

As I said, so it seems the shortest and easiest way for me to take a lease from you. I suppose your lease is not for three years but for twenty-one years. And I know no other way so accommodate for me (upon the reasons in my former letter) as this, if it be also according to your liking, and have your good will, and be not disapproved of by your Society. I know not whether you need their concurrence, or, if you do, I see no reason to doubt of their favour. I suppose the parish will do as much for me as for another (and I have done that for them which every minister did not for his parish during this great and dangerous visitation) and except they add to the tithes (which are never all gathered) there would be but little encouragement for any one in the place. They are but slow, yet they intend this week, or on Sunday next, to have a vestry about my affairs, and they desire me to begin next Sunday to preach in the afternoon.

Yesterday in the afternoon I preached at St. Faith's, and there are that wish me to go on (Mr. Turner, the minister, has taken his leave of them and lives with Lord Fanshaw¹), but, as I hinted before,

¹ Lord Viscount Fanshaw, of Dromore, in the kingdom of Ireland, the brother of Sir Richard Fanshaw, the statesman, negotiator, and poet.

I would ask Mr. Spearing how he likes it, to take the whole day, or to preach in the afternoons. The parishioners (most of them) are such as know scholars, and Royston tells me that they have always been kind to their minister.

Yours,
J.[ohn] W.[orthington.]

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

Mar. 4, 7, 11. I preached at Benet Fynk. Mar. 18. I preached at Benet Fynk twice.

1666.

Mar. 25, 1666, April 1, 4 (Fast day), 8, 13, 15, 22, 29, May 2, 6, 13, 20, 27, 31. I preached at Benet Fynk. June 3, 6, 10, 24, Jul. 1, 4, 8, 15, 22, 29. I preached at Benet Fynk, and Aug. 1, 5, 10, 12, 19, 26.

Sept. 2, 1666. I preached at Benet Fynk in the forenoon on Mat. v. 3. There was no service in the afternoon. A great confusion in the city, by reason of a dreadful fire,¹ which began in Pudding Lane. On Monday night or Tuesday morning it burned down our church, and went through the parish, not leaving a house.

In a Letter to Lord Brereton, anno 1666.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

Last week I delivered my polyphon² to Mr. Haak, to be sent

¹ The great fire of London, for further details of which Evelyn's and Pepys's Diaries of this date, the "Narrative," by Edward Waterhouse, London, 1667, 8vo., the "City Remembrancer," 1769, 8vo., vol. ii. pp. 1-78, and the condensed account in Mr. Peter Cunningham's excellent Hand Book of London, may be consulted. Worthington's description of it is very striking and graphic.

² Probably the same musical instrument which Playford mentions in his Introduction to Music. — Preface, edit. 1670. "Queen Elisabeth," he writes, "was not only

with other things to your lordship. I know none in London but Sir Fr. Prujean and Dr. Ridgley that play on it, and they commend it for a sweet, solemn harpsichord, much like in sound to the Irish harp. Dr. Ridgley hath one larger than mine, which cost him dear, but mine is easier to manage. I procured it to be strung by one in London, who is the only man, I can hear of, that knows how to make the instrument. I have sent in the box a book that hath some lessons for this instrument, besides other, but more particular, directions about it are set down in a sheet of paper I have put in the book, which were sent me by Mr. Friend, that belonged to the music of King James and Charles I. About the fifth leaf from the turning down (where the lessons for this instrument begin, and the tuning also is set down) is the tune of Psalm 25, which I was wont to play, and some others. It will be less hard to you, that play upon other instruments, and have a faculty for music. If it were better than it is, it should have gone to your lordship.

In the letter I now send, your lordship will find some hymns in metre, sent me from a friend, and one in prose. That in prose I collected out of the Apocalypse, and pointed it so as the reading Psalms are pointed to be sung in cathedrals; but a better tune than either the Imperial

a lover of this divine science (music), but a good proficient therein, and I have been informed that she did often recreate herself in an excellent instrument called the Polephant, not much unlike a lute, but strung with wire." Worthington had considerable musical knowledge and taste. In the account of him by his servant, we are told that "he sometimes diverted himself by playing on the violl; at other times, he would sing a psalm or divine song, whilst his wife played on the organ; and when he was at Jesus College he had sometimes consorts of music." His friend, Dr. Henry More, played upon the theorbo, "and," says his biographer, "the pleasure of this, and of his thoughts with it, hath been at times so overcomingly great that he hath been forced to desist; though at other times again, after his hard studies, he found himself in an extraordinary manner recreated and composed by the sweetness and solemnness of that instrument." — *Ward's Life*, p. 54.

or Canterbury (sweet, easy, and solemn) might be made by your lordship.¹ It contains an acknowledgment of God's greatness, justice, truth, holiness, power, eternity, his goodness in the creation, and his love, and the love of Christ, in the redemption of the world. Such hymns as these are too good for some, fit to be sung by more serious persons, for Christian societies of well agreeing souls, which make a little heaven on earth.

In the time of the great visitation I penned it, and reading over the Sacred Scriptures, did by the by select such homogeneous passages as might be put together into hymns or prayers. I have cause to acknowledge God's merciful preservation of me and mine at London and at Hackney (it being next door to us) and when I went weekly to London, there occurring frequent spectacles of mortality. Though I preach here only *pro tempore*, and the place is another's, yet I was loth to leave the place destitute; and while people were willing to come (and I seemed more serious and prepared) I was loth to neglect them, having no place of my own to go to. For that in Suffolk I had resigned and left a good while before, as thinking there would have been an accommodation, which you were pleased to mention to me. But though your lordship hath always expressed a great good will towards me, and told me of a secret purpose of devoting somewhat, in lieu of the tithes sold, to public preaching, yet, as I before said, I would not be burdensome in any kind, or increase any inconveniency, not knowing whether your lordship can so soon despatch all those intricate occasions as you thought,² which I should be glad to hear of.

¹ Lord Brereton was eminent not merely for his taste in music, but as a musical composer. His range of accomplishments was very extensive. See the notice of him, vol. i. p. 212.

² Lord Brereton's circumstances were very much embarrassed.

As for myself, I have silently devoted myself and the remainder of my days to the endeavouring of doing some good, as I am able, if God shall afford health, freedom, vacancy for that end. And I trust that he who hath hitherto cared for me will not leave me, but so provide for me and mine as is fit to be matter of contentment to us.

In a Letter to Dr. Evans, Sept. 11, 1666.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— My time is but short in these parts. I am now preparing for my removal into my northern solitude.¹ God hath discharged me from any further employment in London, where I have preached for some time, and (through his goodness) not without some fruit. Some of all persuasions, and that had wandered through all forms, placing the kingdom of God in opinions and extra essentials, have been awakened to other thoughts, and received settlement in better things, as I have received it from them and others. A serious auditory of many persons engaged me to hold the place longer than else I should. For as for the incomes from the place, they were not so much as they should have been; and the whole was no superfluity, if it had been received. Yet do I not the less thank you for the place. I know you would have been glad if it had been more. By reason of this late dreadful fire, the church,² the house, and the whole parish hath been consumed, and the people scattered (every one shifting for himself); so that I shall lose, in what was due for the two years I preached there, and

¹ He was invited by Lord Brereton to undertake the duties of preacher at Holmes Chapel, in Cheshire, which he fulfilled only for a short time, residing at Brereton Green.

² Of St. Benet Fink.

would have been due at Michaelmas, at least ninety pounds (as I have computed the particulars) which, though it make no great report and sound in the ears of the great and rich to abundance, yet it is as much to me as their thousands to some. Nor could I have held out so long had I not been helped by a little I have, which is little enough for a family of eight persons. By reason of the fire's coming on so suddenly, and the great confusion of such a time, I lost several goods in the house. Some I forgot in this distraction, and some I had not time to remove, having none to help me but one maid. My wife was not well, and others in the family were to be tended, not being well, so that I had not the hands and help which else I might have had. Some trunks that I removed had like to have been lost in the street. They were thrown down and trampled in the dirt, and were given for lost, but at last very hardly recovered. The best of my trunks was left to the flames. It stood in a corner and out of sight. And some things of far better value and price than we carried away were also lost and consumed. Next to the danger of the fire was the confusion in the streets¹ (in ours especially, being a great thoroughfare) so that to me it was a wonder that many were not crowded to death, or trampled and crushed in pieces by carts and horses. Several lost their goods after they were carried out, losing the porters in the crowd. Sometimes I have seen places in the street all strewed with feathers, which might be the destruction of beds.² One burden which I sent we thought had been lost, the porter not appearing of a long time; and one porter that carried away a chest for me, finding it heavy, left it in the street in a corner, and we saw him

¹ The confusion in the streets on the approach of the fire, and its gradual work of destruction, are vividly described by Pepys. (Diary, vol. ii. p. 441, edit. 1854.)

² Many of the sick were obliged to be removed in their beds.

no more, but happily we got our chest again. Some porters would go away after the first carriage, and then we were to seek new ones. It is impossible for any man that was an eyewitness to express, or for the absent to imagine, the dreadfulness of this conflagration, the confusion in the streets and at the gates (where people were forced to stay an incredible time to get through with their burden), the consternation and amazement of men's minds. Every one is now ready to say that they might have preserved more of their goods, or secured more houses from the fire; but at that time their reason and dexterity was half taken from them, that they rather gazed upon the flame and went about their business in a hurry, than acted rationally. I stayed as long as I could in the house, and night coming on, I was to go to Hackney.

Many are quite undone, others almost. Bee hath lost £6,000, some say £10,000; other booksellers¹ £4,000 or £2,000. Dr. Bates hath lost £200 in books. Dr. Tuckney's library in Scrivener's Hall was burnt. Sion College destroyed, and many of the books. Gresham College was preserved by the activity and bounty of some in it, and the fire was stopped in Broad Street, the Dutch minister's houses and Dr. Bolton's house being burnt, but the Dutch church not burnt, and but a little

¹ "Mr. Kirton's kinsman, my bookseller, came in my way; and so I am told by him that Mr. Kirton is utterly undone and made £2000 or £3000 worse than nothing, from being worth £7000 or £8000; that the goods layed in the Church-yard fired through the windows those in St. Fayth's Church; and those coming to the warehouses' doors fired them, and burned all the books and pillars of the church, so as the roof falling down broke quite down, which it did not do in the other places of the church which is alike pillared, but being not burned they stood still. He do believe there is above £150,000 of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone; not only these, but their warehouses at their hall and under Christ Church and elsewhere being all burned. A great want therefore there will be of books, specially Latin books and foreign books, and amongst others the Polyglott and new Bible, which he believes will be presently worth £40 a piece." — *Pepys's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 464.

of Dr. Bolton's, at the Soho end. Sir Nathaniel Bernardiston, in St. Martin's Outwich parish, by the bounty of his purse, engaged men to work hard, and stopped the fire there; and so it was stopped at Aldersgate and elsewhere. Of ninety-seven parish churches there are but twelve remaining. Of the rest only the walls, or some pieces, and the steeples. If it were not for these, it could not be known where the streets were. Blackfriars church (that had no steeple) is so buried in the heaps, that the old clerk who hath been there forty years could not discern where the church had stood. The Exchange¹ was gone in less than an hour. I walked over part of the ruined city, that I might be more sensibly affected; none can be but by seeing it. And I think such a mortifying sight is worth a journey, that men may be the more convinced of the uncertainty and vanity of things below. I was afraid of some severe judgment when I considered that men were not bettered by the former judgment. God grant that this fiery trial may purge and purify us from our filth and soil. I was, with others, beginning to put the business of procuring Petitus his MSS. in a probable way, but now there is no moving for the present. I wish I could have done more for the public good of learning, and for the encouragement of worthy ingenuous persons than I have, and I am glad that I have done somewhat when I had opportunities. It was a pleasure to me when I was in the University or in London. But I am now taken off from a more public active life into a more private and retired way. On Oct. 2nd, I intend (God willing) to leave these parts, not knowing when or whether I shall see them

¹ "I walked into the town, and find Fenchurch Street, Gracious Street, and Lombard Street all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight—nothing standing there of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner." — *Pepys*, p. 447.

again. I have used what diligence was fit, and not unworthy, about being accommodated; but nothing appearing, I would not be locked up a whole winter here. It is three years since I came to these parts, and after I have ventured my health about Mr. Mede's book, and my life in preaching all the plague time, I am where I was when I came hither. I did not expect much, nor am I therefore much disappointed. I have for some time desired the private retired life for some space, and it may be God sees it best for me. I wish that those who are well provided and accommodated may improve their opportunities for the promoting and encouraging what is for the public good, which is their concernment as well as mine. If there be anything that I owe you upon any payment due for Benet Fynk to your Society, I desire to know it that I may take order about it, for I would owe nothing to any but love.—

[AN ACCOUNT OF DR. WORTHINGTON, TAKEN FROM A VERY SERIOUS AND PIOUS WOMAN, WHO WAS SERVANT¹ IN THE DR.'S FAMILY FROM THE TIME OF HIS MARRIAGE TILL HIS DESIGNED REMOVE INTO CHESHIRE.

He was wont to rise about seven o'clock, and go presently to his study, where he staid till about ten. Then he went to prayers in his family, after which he would eat a bit or two of bread and butter, and if it was a proper season, he took a turn or two in the

¹ Of this servant, whose name is not mentioned, and who left him on the occasion of her marriage, Worthington afterwards gives a high character. Her pleasing account of her excellent master might fitly have been incorporated in the introductory sketch of Worthington's life, but it has been thought advisable, upon the whole, to follow the order of Baker's manuscripts.

garden,¹ and so went again to his study, where he continued till dinner was ready. He eat but little; and if he had no company, he would sometimes study as he sat at table. After dinner he tarried with his wife and children till the servants had dined. Then he returned to his study, where he was retired till supper time. After a light supper, he conversed awhile with his wife, and then went to prayers again with his family. On Sundays, all that could were to go to church.

He was very cheerful in company, and sometimes diverted himself by playing on the viol. At other times he would sing a psalm or divine song,² whilst his wife played on the organ. And when he was at Jesus College he had sometimes concerts of music.

When he was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge he frequently made noble entertainments, and though he did not provide so many dishes at other times, yet he would always have that was fitting and good; whence it was his usual saying to his guests, Pray eat; here is that which is good.

When Dr. Stern³ came to Jesus College, he made him a sumptuous entertainment, and was very cheerful with him.

Not long after his removal to Ditton, near Cambridge, he was offered a much better living, but refused it; yet afterwards he found it advisable to change it for a living of less value. His departure from whence was very much lamented, especially by the poor, whom he was wont constantly to relieve. Every Sunday nine or ten of them received alms at his house, a leg of beef and broth being provided for them. If any were sick, they had mutton and pudding sent to them. On a week-day, he would sometimes invite a poor widow. He also visited them when they were sick; and his wife made possets, cordials, and medicines for them.

¹ But a small allotment of exercise, when the daily time devoted to study is considered. Perhaps this may in some measure account for his not attaining to greater length of years. He died at the age of fifty-three.

² Worthington delighted in music, especially vocal, and had an excellent voice. See vol. i. p. 28.

³ To take possession as Head of the College, on Worthington being displaced. See vol. i. p. 202.

In the time of the plague, living at Hackney, near London, he ordered that none who came a begging to his door should be sent away without relief; and accordingly, as their needs required, money, victuals, or clothes, were given to them, though the number of beggars was then very great.

At the same time, one of the doctor's maids (she from whom this account was received) being taken ill, and supposed to have symptoms of the plague (some spots appearing upon her), a woman that nursed his wife (then in childbed) would fain have had the maid sent away, but he would by no means consent, saying he would trust God, &c.

The same year, his only son and one of his daughters had agues, and there was a man famous for curing that and other distempers by stroking,¹ who being known to the doctor, and well thought of

¹ This was the famous Valentine Greatraks, the stroker, who, having performed, as it was reported, wonderful cures in Ireland, was invited by Lord Conway to Ragley in January, 1665, to try his power of healing in reference to Lady Conway's violent head-ache (see vol. i. p. 141) which had baffled the most skilful physicians of the time. This he was, it appears, unable to alleviate, but multitudes flocked about him from the fame he had already acquired; and from Ragley he was called by command of the King to Whitehall, and remained for some time in London, attending daily at Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he received his patients, the number of whom was very considerable. He seems to have had some knowledge of the mode of treating tumours, and, by a natural sagacity and the application of friction, to have worked many undoubted cures. Having a competency of his own in Ireland, he afforded his aid in all cases gratuitously. After some time, however, it being perceived that no permanent benefit was derived from his mode of treatment in the great majority of instances, and an unfortunate failure at Mr. Cresset's, in Charter-house Yard, having been severely animadverted upon, his popularity began to wane, and he ultimately returned to his native country, where he was living at Dublin in 1681. He was warmly patronised, not only by the Honourable Robert Boyle but by Worthington's friends, Dr. Whichcote, Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Evans, Dr. Wilkins, and Dr. Simon Patrick. Amongst the testimonials at the end of his letter to Robert Boyle is a long one from Whichcote, declaring the great benefit he had derived from Greatraks, in what appears to have been a fungous excrescence, "which for many years," he says, "had greatly disabled and sorely afflicted me, for which, before my coming to him, I could have no remedy." There is also one from Cudworth, stating "that the tumours in his little son Charles's breast were very happily cured by Mr. Greatraks." Amongst the other complaints which he undertook to cure, or alleviate, was the ague. (See his letter to Boyle, p. 25.) His life is shortly

by him, it was expected that he would have carried his children to

given in Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary and in Grainger; but those who take an interest in the career of Greatraks should refer to the three very curious pamphlets respecting him: 1. (David Lloyd's) "Wonders no Miracles, or Mr. Valentine Greatraks's Gift of Healing examined," Lond. 1666, 4to; 2. "A Brief Account of Mr. Valentine Greatraks, and divers of the strange Cures by him lately performed, written by himself in a Letter addressed to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq.," Lond. 1666, 4to; 3. "The Miraculous Conformist, or an Account of several marvellous Cures performed by the stroking of the hands of Mr. Valentine Greatarick, in a Letter to the Honourable Robert Boyle by Henry Stubbe," Oxf. 1666, 4to. Greatraks gives a remarkable account of his own life in his letter to Boyle, and seems to have been an honest and well-intentioned enthusiast, with considerable natural shrewdness, and far above the empirics of his time. In one of the scholia on Dr. Henry More's "Enthusiasmus Triumphatus" (edit. 1712, folio, p. 51) the doctor observes, on the following passage: "*There may be very well a sanative and healing contagion, as well as a morbid and venomous.*" This very place I shewed to that excellent person, Mr. Boyle, at London, as I was talking with him in a bookseller's shop, being asked by him what I thought of the cures of Valentine Greatraks, with the fame of which all places rung at that time. I told him my opinion was fixed about those cures some years before they were performed; for that one Coker (for that was the name of the person whose remarkable way of curing or healing I now mention) by a very gentle chafing or rubbing of his hand, cured diseases ten years ago, to the best of my remembrance, as Greatraks did, though not so many and various. For this cured cancers, scrofulas, deafness, king's evil, epilepsie, fevers, though quartan ones, leprosy, palsy, tympany, head-ach, lameness, numbness of limbs, stone, convulsions, ptysiack, sciatica, ulcers, pains of the body, nay, blind and dumb in some measure, and I know not but he cured the gout; — of all which cures Greatraks wrote a book, attested by good hands, to which, for brevity's sake, I refer the reader. But it is in general to be observed, that, although he cured all those diseases, yet he did not succeed in all his applications, nor were his cures always lasting. Moreover, it was not only his hand that had this healing quality, but even his spittle, whereby you may the more easily discover that cures have relation to the temperament of the body. Besides, it was well known that his body, as well as his hand, had a sort of herbous aromatick scent; though that may be no certain sign of a sanative faculty. This I can speak by experience of myself, especially when I was young, that every night when going to bed I unbuttoned my doublet, my breast would emit a sweet aromatick smell, and every year after about the end of winter, or approaching of the spring, I had usually sweet herbous scents in my nostrils, no external object appearing from whence they came. But I know not how I thus insensibly run into this humour of talking of myself. Let us return to Greatraks and his cures, which it is manifestly plain may be within the bounds of nature (though perhaps not a little purified and defecated by the help of religion), because he could only relieve or ease afflicted

be stroked by him. But he chose rather to trust Providence in the use of ordinary means.

nature, but not restore it when decaying. But that which to me seems wonderful above all the rest is, that subtil morbifick matter, which, by the application of his hand, would become volatil, and remove from the part grieved, and then like lightning disperse itself by the same application of the hand into several parts of the body, till at last he would drive it into some extreme part, suppose the fingers, and especially the toes, or the nose or tongue,—into which parts, when he had forced it, it would make them so cold and insensible that the patient could not feel the deepest prick of a pin: but as soon as his hand should touch those parts, or gently rub them, the whole distemper vanished, and life and sense immediately returned to those parts. So subtil a thing is the matter of most, or all diseases, and yet at the same time so stupid and deadly, that it is, as it were, the first fruits of death. As to the constitution of these two, Coker was a very melancholic man, as I have been informed by those that conversed with him. Gretrakes was quite the contrary, being of a sanguine temper, very civil and humane, and really pious, without sourness or superstition (for I myself have often conversed with him at Ragley, when I used to be at my Lord Viscount Conway's); whence I plainly saw, by the ascension of blood and spirits, his brain was in no danger, nor was I mistaken in my conjecture. But I would not be understood in what I have said of these sorts of cures, as if I despised them, for they may be the special gift of God in nature, especially in regenerate nature; of which sort it is likely these cures of Gretrakes were, as any one may collect from the account of his fore passed life, for he gave himself up wholly to the study of Godliness and sincere mortification, and through the whole course of his life shewed all manner of specimens of a Christian disposition. But, besides the innocence of his private life, and his most effusive charity and humanity in the management of publick offices, whether military or civil (for he was a man not only of a pious and liberal education, but of an estate and capacity fit to serve the publick), he did nothing but what carried an air of justice and equity in it, and a general good will towards all; insomuch that, though he did most heartily embrace the reformed religion, yet he would persecute no sect upon the score of religion, not even the papists, and that in Ireland too, where they had, through their cruelty and perfidy, made such horrible havock of the Protestants. This, and other things of this nature, certainly shew us that we ought to impute this gift of his curing diseases not to simple, but regenerate nature, since we find so many and manifest steps and marks of regenerate man in him; nor could I ever discover any thing in him that was contemptuous or immoral towards the spiritual or secular magistrate. And truly he seems to me such an exemplar of candid and sincere Christianity, without any pride, deceit, sourness, or superstition, to which let me add his working such wonderful, at least if not properly called, miracles, as the Church of Rome in no age could ever produce for their religion. For what Gretrakes did was done in the face of the world, seen and attested by physicians, philosophers and divines of the most penetrating and accurate judgment."

He never appeared disconcerted at any losses, nor was he angry with any one but upon just occasion, being very free from passion.

When one of his children made a noise at prayers, he took her afterwards into the next room, and talked to her so effectually that she was never observed to do so again, though she was a young child. If his servants did ill, he would reprove them smartly, but with few words.]

For his honoured friend Dr. Worthington, at Hackney, &c.

[From Dr. H. More.]

Sir,

I wrote to you Sept. 4th, and again Sept. 11th, but whether both those letters have miscarried I know not. My former offered you the parsonage of Ingoldsby;¹ my latter signified I had disposed of it upon Mrs. Foxcroft's and my own strong presumption that you would not accept of it, by reason of the destituteness of the deceased incumbent's widow and her nine children, the eldest of which, two years bachelor of arts, stood for it; upon whom, therefore, out of the mere motion of charity, I was drawn to a resolution to have bestowed it upon him, and had gone so far as that I sent down a blank with my name, to my nephew, to have a presentation drawn to it, but withal I bid him not to let that blank go out of his hands till needs must, because I intended to enquire as much as I could further touching the young scholar. I had thought I had done an excellent act; but one suggesting to me

¹ "To this college (Christ's College, in Cambridge) he (Dr. Henry More) left the perpetuity of the rectory of Ingoldsby, in Lincolnshire; of good value at present, but of greater, it is said, when first bought for him by his father. This living he was possessed of, I suppose, for some very short time, for I find his name once in the Public Register anno 1642, but whether of his own writing I cannot certainly say. He lived to present to it several turns; of which one was very seasonably given to his most learned and highly valued friend, Dr. Worthington of pious memory, upon his church being burnt down, amongst many others, in the fire of London." — Ward's Life of More, pp. 60–61. Ward was afterwards himself Rector of Ingoldsby.

the next day they were gone from hence with his blank, that my intended charity would signify nothing, if once the young man married (which yet was the main basis of my act), I began to be hugely out of conceit with what I had done, in so much that it broke my sleep that night, and I could not be quiet till I sent an horse and man on purpose to stop the giving this blank, to be turned into a presentation. So that I have suspended the business, and am very much troubled that I have made no better choice for the place. For he that brought the certificate and testimony of some persons from the country in the scholar's behalf, confessed that he had been wild, but he did affirm to me absolutely that for these two years he had been sober and studious. But after I had given him my letters to my nephew, and I took occasion to ask him again of his sobriety, he said for aught he knew he had been so these two years. But this was one of the chief that subscribed the testimonial, and uncle to the young man. He told me that his cousin was very well beloved where he lived, which increases my jealousy and makes me think he is over sociable still. I made the quicker despatch in this business because the reports were so untoward here in these parts that I thought all would be in an uproar, and there would be a sudden obstruction of affairs, so that I thought I would finish so charitable a good deed with all expedition I might whilst I had opportunity. Dr. Sanderson,¹ who wrote to me a very compassionating letter in behalf of the widow, thinks I had absolutely determined to bestow the parsonage on this young man, but methinks he might consider that the basis and condition of my action was that it was so effectual a piece of charity as it was suggested. And besides, my action was a suspended action all this time, in that I would not so much as let that blank go out of my nephew's hands till needs must. Whereby it is plain I resolved to myself some time to look about me. But

¹ Thomas Sanderson, Doctor of Physic, eldest son of the famous Dr. Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln. Dr. Thomas Sanderson's daughter, Elizabeth, married Richard Middlemore, Esquire, and died on the 29th of March, 1701, and is interred in her father's grave in Grantham Church.

I must confess that I did not think anything would occur to hinder the proceeding. You see in what a peck of troubles I am. I wish the living were worth your acceptance; for that which makes me out of conceit with my intended purpose should also in all reason remove that scruple which Mrs. Foxcroft and myself thought so invincible in you. I pray you do me the favour to send me your resolution and judgment upon the whole matter. I wish the living were as good again, but it is in all likelihood worth six score pounds a year. Nor can it be any disappointment to the young man that he is declined for the bringing in such a one and under such circumstances upon the late disaster at London. But I am afraid I bid you to your loss, if my Lord Brereton does intend the same bounty he mentioned heretofore. I pray think of it. You may easily conceive how ambitious I am to have you in our country, though if you did but make use of this place till a better be provided. I desire to hear from you with all convenient speed. You easily see in what a solicitude I am about the settling of this affair for the best. I am,

Yours to serve you,

Ragley, Sept. 18.

Hen. More.

*Mr. Fran. Worthington¹ in a Letter to his brother Dr. Worthington,
Sept. 21, 1666.*

— Yours I received yesternight after I came from Brereton Green, where I waited upon my Lord. He sent his man with me to see the house you are to come to, which is a very commodious house. So far as I perceive, he intends his coach, if he have timely notice, shall meet you at Coventry. My Lord is a real friend of yours you may assure yourself.—

¹ See, as to Francis Worthington, vol. i. p. 23. His name frequently occurs in Newcome's Autobiography. He died September 8, 1668, and was interred in the Parish Church of Manchester, as was also his wife, Sarah, who was the daughter of Edward Byrom of Salford.

Dr. More in a Letter September 25, 1666.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

—I have received your answer to mine, though not so agreeable as I hoped for. You are so prone to raise objections to my Lord Brereton's offer, that I will not suggest any to you, but only further inform you, touching my own, that the orchard is so good that they have made £10 of the fruit of it in a year, and that the house is a very pretty house (this I have been informed of since I wrote to you last); so that the living may be worth between six score and seven score pounds a year. If you were settled there, I should come and reside there in a manner, all the time of lawful discontinuance from Christ's College—I mean five miles from thence, at Grantham, my native town. If you do not rid me of this anxiety by accepting the living, I shall not know how to bestow the care of so many souls upon a young lad, but middle bachelor. I hear since my last that he is not passing twenty-two, and therefore want of age debars him. If it be so that he is incapable, I suppose you will not scruple. I pray you send me word if you think it worth the while to go there to try it. My Lord Brereton's offer you may be free to at any time. —

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

Oct. 5, 1666. I with my family came from Hackney to St. Albans. Oct. 6. To Brickhill. Oct. 7. I preached at Brickhill. Oct. 8. We came to Weedon. Octob. 9. To Coventry. Oct. 10. To Lichfield. Oct. 11. To Newcastle. Oct. 13. To Brereton Green. Laus Deo.

Oct. 26. I came to Manchester,¹ my native town, where I had

¹ His previous journey to Manchester had been in 1654. He remained there (see vol. i. p. 51) from August 1st to October 17th in that year.

not been of twelve years before. Oct. 28. I preached at Manchester twice. Nov. 2. I returned to Brereton Green. Nov. 4. I preached at Brereton. Nov. 11. I preached at Holmes Chapel. Nov. 13. I went with my wife to uncle Charles Whichcote's house at Rostern. Nov. 14. We came back to Brereton Green. Nov. 15. Thence to Stone. Nov. 16. To Birmingham. Nov. 17. To Ragley, near Alcester in Warwickshire. Nov. 25. I preached in the forenoon and in the afternoon at Alcester. Nov. 26. I came to my brother Crab's house at Alcester. Nov. 28. I went from Alcester to Ayno. Nov. 29. To Wendover. Nov. 30. To London.

Dr. Whichcote in a Letter to his sister Foxcroft, Nov. 21, 1666.

— I pray let not Dr. More otherwise dispose of his living, for Dr. Worthington is not provided for where he is. I thought to have written to him into Cheshire not to sit down there upon an uncertainty; but now I shall not write thither, because I suppose he will be with you when this shall come to hand. He now knows that that in Cheshire is arbitrary and uncertain. Tell him it is all his friends' opinion here that he do not leave a certainty (as Dr. More's is) for an uncertainty I write not to him into Cheshire, as I thought to do, because you write you have sent a messenger for him.

[Here follows in the MSS. a copy of the presentation by Dr. Henry More of Dr. Worthington to the Rectory of Ingoldsby, in Lincolnshire, dated the 24th of November, 1666.]

In a Letter to Mrs. Worthington, Alcester, Nov. 27, 1666.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— I have been kindly and nobly entertained at Ragley. I have the presentation from Dr. More, and am going to dispatch what remains at London. —

In a Letter to Dr. Evans, Dec. 10, 1666.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— I am lately come to London in order to presentation to Ingoldsby, in Lincolnshire, and have dispatched the business with the Bishop of Lincoln.¹ Dr. More is patron, and was earnest with me to take it, wishing it were as good again. My family is in Cheshire, 126 miles from London—a long and hard journey it was for us. Things there are not so as I expected. My friends wished me to take a lesser thing rather than be at uncertainties. Mr. Stonier cannot get a penny of my great arrears. —

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanacks.]

Dec. 9. I preached at the Charter-house. Dec. 14. I came out of London. Dec. 15. To Mr. Cater's house, at Papworth. Dec. 16. I preached at Papworth twice. Dec. 17. I came to Stamford. Dec. 18. To Grantham.

Dec. 21. I came to Ingoldsby, and took possession of the church. Dec. 23 and 25. I preached at Ingoldsby. Dec. 26. I came thence to Bingham, Nottinghamshire. Dec. 27. To Derby. Dec. 28. To Leek, in Staffordshire. Dec. 29. To Brereton Green, Cheshire. Laus Deo. Dec. 30. I preached at Holmes Chapel.

1666-7.

Jan. 6 and 13. I preached at Holmes Chapel. Jan. 20. I preached at Brereton Green. Jan. 27, Feb. 3, 10, 17, 24. I preached at Holmes Chapel.

Jan. 12, 1666-7. On this Saturday night, about twelve o'clock,

¹ Dr. Benjamin Laney, a learned and loyal divine, who had attended Charles II. in his exile, and at his restoration was made Bishop of Peterborough, and afterwards translated to Lincoln and ultimately to Ely. He died in 1674. He is now principally remembered as a writer by his *Observations on Hobbes's Letter on Liberty and Necessity*, Lond. 1676, 12mo. See Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 875.

was a fire in Mr. F. C.'s¹ bed. His cap (a napkin about his head) was in part burnt; and his pillow, bolster, and sheet in part. He was fast asleep. Our maid being then up (which was unusual) and sister Hephzibah Whichcote smelt the fire, found our hall full of smoke, looked into one part of the house, but could find no fire. At last they knocked at Mr. F. C.'s door and awakened him, who was near to be burnt in his bed, and so might we all have been burnt. God be praised for his preservation.

March 3, 1666-7. I preached at Sandbach twice. March 10, 17. I preached at Holmes Chapel twice. March 18. I went with my wife to Rostern.² March 19. We came to Manchester. March 24. I preached at Manchester, and in the afternoon at Prestwich.

In a Letter to Dr. Evans, Feb. 25, 1666-7.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— I have here met (among Mr. Hartlib's papers, in my Lord Brereton's study) with two epistles of Grotius³ to Crellius,⁴ and two letters⁵ of Des Cartes, the one about Lord

¹ Probably Mr. Francis Cholmondeley, mentioned in the next letter.

² To his wife's uncle, Charles Whichcote, who lived there. Another of her uncles, Sir Jeremy Whichcote, was connected through his wife with the Breretons of Nantwich. Adam Martindale, whose name the mention of Rostern naturally suggests, and who was well known to Worthington, was now an ejected minister, teaching the mathematics at Manchester. (See his *Life*, ann. 1667.)

³ It does not appear whether these two letters have been printed. There are three to Crellius in Grotius's collected "Epistolæ" (Ams. 1687, folio), the first of which (p. 104) is that memorable one in which he takes his Socinian adversary by the hand, cordially observing, "Bene de me judicas non esse me eorum in numero, qui ob sententias, salvâ pietate, dissidentes, alieno a quoquam sim animo aut boni alicujus amicitiam repudiam." The whole letter is a fine specimen of his tolerant and Christian feeling.

⁴ Of this famous Socinian writer, the biography prefixed to his works (Eleutherop. 1656, four volumes folio) gives the leading particulars of his life, and the notice in Bock (*Hist. Antitrinitariorum*, Regiomont. 1774, vol. i. p. 116), affords additional information as to the points of it and his various publications. He was born in Franconia in 1590, and died at Racow, where he had been appointed Greek Professor and Rector of the University, in 1633, having only attained to the age of forty-three.

Herbert's book, *De Veritate*, the other (and larger) about Comenius's¹ pansophical treatise. I lately met with a very studious and ingenious gentleman, Mr. Fr. Cholmley,² who said he kept two Lents with Dr. Brown beyond sea. As for the place you wrote of with some gust in October last, you wish me to inquire no further, nor shall I. What made a place so situate more inviting was said in former letters. I never perceived so much pleasure in

That there is much that is good in his Commentaries on the Scriptures may readily be granted; but it is, unfortunately, so mixed up with what is unsound, sophistical, and contrary to the laws of logical and just interpretation, as to render them, considered as a whole, of little value. His *Responsio ad Librum H. Grotii de satisfactione Christi*, Racow, 1623, 4to, in which he answers Grotius's book against Socinus, is written with a degree of learning, temper, and modesty worthy of a better cause.

¹ These two letters are probably still unpublished, as I do not find them in the Latin edition of the collected Correspondence of Des Cartes (Francof. 1669, three volumes 4to); but his opinion of Lord Herbert's book will be found on consulting the French edition of his works (vol. viii. pp. 138, 168). He thinks the treatise *De Veritate* contains many excellent things, sed non publici saporis, and speaks with much respect of it, though he professes himself unable to embrace the principles which it lays down. On the subject of this book, it is worth while to read the letter of Gassendi, to whom Lord Herbert had forwarded a copy (*Gassendi Opera*, vol. iii. p. 411), in which he examines, with great fairness and justice, the paradoxical sentiments of the noble author, which were afterwards more clearly stated and more boldly put forward in his subsequent treatise, "*De Religione Gentilium*." With respect to Lord Herbert himself, it is only necessary to refer to his own delightful autobiography, which has been printed, since it first appeared from the Strawberry Hill press, in various forms, and to the several notices of him in the different biographical collections. Mr. Hallam has devoted more space to him than is usual with him in his review of the literature of the time (*Literature of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. ii. p. 380), and concludes his examination of the treatise *De Veritate* by remarking, "If it is not as an entire work very successful, or founded always upon principles which have stood the test of severe reflection, it is still a monument of an original, independent thinker, without rhapsodies of imagination, without pedantic technicalities, and, above all, bearing witness to a sincere love of the truth he sought to apprehend."

² His *Pansophiæ Diatyposis*, for an account of which see vol. i. p. 174. It is only a sort of prospectus of the larger work he contemplated.

³ Francis Cholmondeley, sixth son of Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, Esq. He was baptized Jan. 10, 1635-6, and died at Vale Royal, and was buried at Minshull, Oct. 6, 1718.

Buckinghamshire' as in my last coming through it to London. If the thing had been vacant about the time you wrote, I would have compared that in Lincolnshire and this together, and would have wished that Dr. Spearing might be provided of one.—

For my worthy and much honoured friend Dr. John Worthington.

[From Bishop Ward.]

Worthy sir, my much honoured friend,

I received your letter (dated March 9) by the hand of Dr. Spearing, and heartily thank you, not only for the kindness therein showed to myself, wherein you have very much obliged me in a personal way, but also for the pains which you are always taking for the advancement of the common stock of learning, to which although I wish as well as other men, yet I must acknowledge myself to be very unserviceable.

I am very glad that the papers of Mr. Hartlib are preserved, and that they are fallen into your hands, who are able and disposed to make the best of them. I was not unacquainted with that good man, who by his great and unwearied zeal for learning, and by his correspondence with persons eminent in the several ways of it, became very serviceable to the general propagation of it; and whatever his works were, which were very laudable, certainly it cannot be but his papers must be considerable. I mean those papers which proceeded from the authors whom your letter mentions, and not those letters of mine own which concerned either Hevelius or Mercator, which although I have forgotten, yet so much I am sure of that they were carelessly and perfunctorily written (or else, indeed, they had not been mine), so that it will be to my advantage to suppress them. However, sir, I leave them wholly to your disposal, either to bring them to me, when I may have the happiness to see you, or to burn them, or leave them among the rest; that is to say, I have no con-

siderable regard to any interest of mine in them, but leave them to themselves, not being able to judge of them, being long since alipt both out of my hands and out of my memory.

As for your own affairs, I bless God that they are so well as they are, though far short of your deserts and my wishes. I do not find that Dr. Wilkins likes his benefice near Oundle so well as you do yours near Grantham. I wish and hope that you will both be accommodated more to the public benefit than you yet are, and I assure you that if I had opportunity I should think myself obliged to do my best endeavour to that purpose. Some comfort it is to me that my disability is not unknown to my friends, and that the less power I have the less of misemployment will (I hope) be laid to my charge. If this place afford anything of news, I presume you will receive it from other hands; too many of our friends and brethren being at leisure for that employment. I can only thank you (which I assure you I do most heartily) for your kindness to me, which far exceeds what I have been able to deserve at your hands, and entreat you to be assured that I shall upon all occasions offered endeavour to acquit myself as

Your affectionate brother and servant,

Westminster, March 15, 1666-7.

Seth Exon.

1667.

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

March 25, 1667. We came from Manchester to Rostern. March 26. To Brereton Green. Laus Deo.

March 31. I preached at Holmes Chapel twice.

April 1. I went from Brereton Green.

April 5, 1667. I came to Ingoldsby, in Lincolnshire, and preached, being Good Friday. April 9. I came out of Lincolnshire. April 11. Came to Brereton Green. Laus Deo. April 14, 1667. I, with my family, came away from Brereton Green, and came to Newcastle. April 20. We came to Uttoxeter. April 21. I preached there. April 22. We came to Derby. April 23. To Nottingham. April 24. To Grantham. April 25. To Ingoldsby in safety. Laus Deo.

[*In a Letter to Mrs. Foxcroft, anno 1670-1.*

[From Dr. Worthington.]

- Nothing did or could more induce me to that northern journey I took in the year 1666 but that I was told by one¹ that he did exceedingly affect and would begin such a design of Christian societies if I would remove thither. And if I would take pains there and preach sometimes abroad, he would allow me a competency a year; which if he had performed, I should not have returned to any parochial employment how tempting soever; but I found that to be true which I had objected oftentimes before, and so long that he was troubled not a little that I should doubt he was not in a capacity. I found he had not got through those difficulties he was encumbered with, nor was like to do it so soon as he promised himself. And so I saw that there was estate little enough for his necessary occasions and family. Otherwise if it had been so plentiful as he said it was, or would be shortly, I should have endeavoured to have deserved the proportion offered me, by being serviceable to those religious purposes designed according to my poor abilities.—]

Dr. Whichcote, in a Letter, May 14, 1667.

[To Dr. Worthington.]

- I have received yours of May 3rd, and am glad that you are at length come to that which is your own — a certainty and legal settlement. Other things, as the world goes, are but imaginary, insignificant. This you may hold (as a place of being in this world, and some opportunity of service) till you see true cause and reason to remove. If there be not as good advantages for converse as you may desire, it may be in part supplied by journeys

¹ Lord Breerton.

abroad, excursions, and temporary absence. I have seen your books at Ditton, in the granary; they are safe, and undertaken to be so continued. Bishop Wren¹ was interred last Saturday, in the vault by himself prepared in his new chapel in Pembroke Hall. Dr. Pearson made a speech. Regents and non-regents had sugar boxes. I have, since Michaelmas last, married away three of my four servants, and the fourth is upon the point of being married. This trade goes on though all others at a stand.

In a Letter to Dr. Evans, May 6, 1667.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

- On April 19th I removed from Cheshire with my family and goods. On the 25th we came safe (through God's mercy) to Ingoldsby. The two first days of our journey were fair and warm, the others were cold, and not without rain and wind. You desire to know the true value of Ingoldsby (because it has been differently represented). In short it is thus (as I have told some that have inquired): — There is four score and ten pounds paid in money by the parishioners for the tithes, and thirty pounds more for the glebe by the tenant. I have given the widow of my predecessor all till Lady Day last. I shall receive nothing till Michaelmas. I have no hopes of recovering my losses at Ditton. —
-

In a Letter to Dr. Ingelo, June 10, 1667.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

- I removed out of Cheshire about the end of April, and through Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, to this place in Lincolnshire we came safe, through God's

¹ He died at Ely House, April 24, 1667. See vol. i. p. 25.

mercy, which was the second of my great removes. In this tedious journeying¹ with our little ones, our goods, &c., I could not but sometimes think that there was a little imitation of the pilgrim-condition of some of the old patriarchs recorded by Moses. And though my latter years have had something of the pilgrim state, yet I have had cause to acknowledge some merciful designs of providence therein. At my late being in Cheshire I met with two trunks full of Mr. Hartlib's papers,² which my Lord Brereton purchased. I thought they had been put in order, but finding it otherwise, I took them out, bestrewed a great chamber with them, put them into order in several bundles, and some papers I met with not unworthy of your sight. Here in Lincolnshire I met with one to whom Mr. Crashaw³ delivered (before his going away) his poems, writ with his own hand. I

¹ When we consider the difficulty Worthington must have had in removing his family, furniture, &c., first into Cheshire and after into Lincolnshire, the bad roads, slow conveyances, and, perhaps, danger of highwaymen, which he had to encounter, we may surely felicitate ourselves on living in the days of railways.

² Are these valuable papers now in existence? Perhaps their fate may yet be ascertained by persevering inquiry.

³ Richard Crashaw, the poet. The date of his birth does not appear to be known. He was elected a Scholar of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, March 26, 1632, from whence, in November, 1636, he removed to Peterhouse, of which the next year he became Fellow. On the 8th April, 1644, he was ejected from his fellowship by the Parliamentary Visitors. Hard it must have been for him to leave his "neat," where, "in the temple of God, under his wing, he led his life in St. Mary's Church, near to St. Peter's College, under Tertullian's roof of angels," and to be thrown upon the wide world. We next hear of him from Cowley, then Secretary to Lord Jermy, who found him in 1646 at Paris and in great poverty, and is said to have assisted him with his purse. From Cowley, or some other quarter, he obtained an introduction to the queen of Charles I., and, having now gone over to the Roman Catholic religion, proceeded to Italy with letters of recommendation from her. The period of his death, which was certainly before 1652, is not known, but we have the following account of his employment in Italy and the close of his life, from Dr. John Bargrave, his fellow collegian at Peterhouse: "When I first went of my four times to Rome, there were three or four revolvers to the Roman Church that had been Fellows of Peterhouse, in Cambridge, with myself. The name of one of them was Mr. R. Crashaw, who was of the Sequita (as their term is), that is, an attendant or one of the followers of Cardinal

know not where to procure the second, which is the best edition of his poems here; and I gave away my own. If you could send down one or two from London, with some white leaves added, I could both correct the printed ones by the original, and add those not yet printed. I received lately a letter from Mr. Newburgh to know what was done with Desiderius, about which he bestowed

Palotta, for which he had a salary of crowns by the month (as their custom is), but no diet. Mr. Crashaw infinitely commended his Cardinal, but complained extremely of the wickedness of those of his retinue, of which he, having the Cardinal's ear, complained to him; upon which the Italians fell so far out with him that the Cardinal, to secure his life, was fain to put him from his service, and procuring him some small employ at the Lady's of Loretto, whither he went in pilgrimage in the summer time, and overheating himself died in a few weeks after he came thither, and it was doubtful whether he was not poisoned." For a fuller account of Crashaw, the notice contributed by Hayley to Kippis's *Biographia Britannica* and Mr. Willmott's biography of him in his very pleasing "*Lives of Sacred Poets*" may be referred to (vol. i. pp. 296-325). Cowley's address to him, whenever he is spoken of, will be recollected:

"Poet and saint! To thee alone are given
The two most sacred names of earth and heaven,
The hard and rarest union which can be,
Next that of Godhead with humanity.
Long did the Muses banish'd slaves abide,
And built their pyramids to human pride;
Like Moses thou, though spells and charms withstand,
Hast brought them nobly back to their Holy Land."

Nor will the pitiful criticism of Pope be forgotten (Works by Roscoe, edit. 1824, vol. viii. p. 166), who might almost be describing his own poetry, he is certainly not describing Crashaw, when he observes, "pretty conceptions, fine metaphors, glittering expressions, and something of a neat cast of verse (which are properly the dress, gems, or loose ornaments of poetry), may be found in these verses." Yielding to none in admiration of the great poet whose criticism is referred to, there are yet very many parts of his own works, which, taking an equal number of verses in succession, I should be perfectly willing to give up, rather than lose such an exquisite specimen of rhythm and command of language as "*Musick's Duel*;" and there are passages in Crashaw's translation of the *Sospetto d' Herode*, from Marino, which have never been surpassed by any poet. Whether the manuscript of Crashaw's Poems, to which Dr. Worthington refers, now exists, does not appear, but it is certain that the additions and alterations in it were not made use of in the subsequent edition of 1670. The edition for which Dr. Worthington inquires is, most likely, that of 1648-9. As a contemporary of Worthington's at Cambridge, he would take an interest in Crashaw personally, independently of that which he always felt in fine devotional poetry.

his pains, which he desired might be revised by some friend. I would fain (beside other reasons of publishing it) make an advantage of it to make her that hath Mr. Ferrar's¹ MSS. to a readiness, to communicate some of them for the public good. In this solitude where I am, I could desire to hear what useful books are lately come abroad, or are in preparation for the press. I hear nothing here of such matters, and my mind is still running about such inquiries as I want to make elsewhere. I suppose Dr. Evans has said as much (or more) to you as he has writ to me, too tedious to write. If that place be worth no more than he wrote, and it be a dear place to live in (as most places are at that distance from London, more than the nearer or farther off), it would have been hard to live upon it barely. Where I am things are cheaper, and the place is healthy, the people is of good disposition, the glebe 60 acres, there is a fair large orchard, and the whole I should like better if nearer to my ancient friends and books, and near Oxford, as Hitcham and other places in Buckinghamshire, which seemed to me a very pleasant county, though when I saw it it was in the last winter, when I came out of Warwickshire. One wrote to me about exchanging another place for this, but when I further understood some circumstances which I never cared to meddle with, I did forbear to write to my patron about it, who, I think, would not be backward in his assent, in order to my being so disposed as that I might be more publicly serviceable, according to those inclinations which have been for some time in me. Others are for other cares and solitudes, and look no further than

¹ "A catalogue of the MSS. (once) at Gidding," is given by Peckard in his *Life of Nicolas Ferrar, of Little Gidding* (1790, 8vo. p. 306). In this the third article is "Lives, Characters, Histories, and Tales, for Moral and Religious Instruction, in five volumes, folio, neatly bound and gilt, by Mary Collet," who is probably the person referred to by Worthington. In that valuable auxiliary to all who are engaged in literary research, "Notes and Queries," will be found many communications as to the Ferrar MSS. (See particularly vol. ii. pp. 119, 444, and vol. iii. p. 12.)

what is expected from a country cure.¹ Non omnibus idem est quod placet.

As for those religious societies or fraternities, the end whereof should be the celebration of the praises of the Most High, and which should be designed (as the Pythagorean were) εἰς Θεοκρατίαν τινα καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐνωσιν, though I desire them no less than when I heretofore spoke of them, yet I begin more to think they are very precious and rare and hard to meet with, too many being at a further distance from such a spirit and life through the various temptations of the world.—

In a Letter to Dr. More, June 15, 1667.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— I am glad that the rub is taken out of the way about your Enchiridion. I suppose it is to be done at Flesher's, in London, not in so little a print as your Letters to Des Cartes and Epistola ad V. C., nor in so great a print as your other books, &c.—

[From Dr. Worthington's Almanack.]

April 28, May 5, 19, 26, June 2, 9, 16, I preached at Ingoldsby.

June 19. I came to Cambridge, and lay at Christ's College. June 23. I preached at Milton. June 25. Two waggons of my books and goods came out of Cambridge. June 27. I came out of Cambridge. June 29. I came to Ingoldsby. Laus Deo.

June 30, July 7, 14, 21, 28. I preached at Ingoldsby,

Aug. 2, 1667. My wife was delivered of a daughter, about seven o'clock this morning, who was baptized and named Mary on Aug. 9. Aug. 4. I preached at Ingoldsby.

¹ This was not the case with Worthington, to whom, familiarized to an university life, the advantages of libraries and the conversation of scholars had now become a necessity of his nature.

Aug. 8, 1667. This day (about a quarter of an hour past eleven) my dear wife, Mary Worthington, departed this life. Aug. 9. Friday, she was buried. Mr. Lodington, of Lenton, preached the funeral sermon. The day that my wife died, Aug. 8, my son John fell sick of the distemper (ague or fever). He was very sick, and sometimes we feared him, but upon Aug. 19 we began to have hopes of his recovery.

*For his honoured uncle, Dr. Whichcote, at Dr. Cudworth's,
in Christ's College, Cambridge.*

[From Dr. Worthington.]

Honoured uncle,

Ingoldsby, Aug. 10, 1667.

The last Saturday I sent you the gladsome news of my wife being delivered of a daughter on Friday, Aug. 2nd, about seven in the morning. This morning's paper is the sad messenger of her decease. On Thursday, Aug. 8, about eleven o'clock, it pleased God to take her out of this evil world (out of this toilsome life as she called it) to a better place and state. It was not long after that I had been gone out of her chamber, to recommend her condition by prayer unto Him that is only able to save and deliver, and to visit my son who fell sick that morning of the new distemper, but one comes to me and brings the sad message that she was departed this life. She was sooner gone than they thought, and expired like a young child. Nor did I ever hear her complain, in any murmuring or unbecoming way, when her pain was most grievous.—

I will bear the indignation of the Lord, for I have sinned against him; I acknowledge and adore thy justice and thy righteous disposal, O Lord.

I fear I was not so thankful for her as I ought, nor did I so worthily resent and improve all the mercies and advantages which I and my family enjoyed whilst God continued her with us. It was his great mercy to me that he lent her me so long as he did, ten years it would have been on Oct. 13th if she had lived.

This is a rude and confused account of her last sickness, wherein

God cut her off in the flower of her age, being twenty-seven years old and twelve days. Young she was, but *matura coelo*.

My next care was for her decent interment. She died a little after eleven o'clock, on Thursday, Aug. 8, and I would have kept her till Saturday, but it could not be. About five o'clock on Friday, she was carried to church to her grave. Mr. Lodington, my next neighbour minister, a serious sober man (and one that I have found a friendly person), I easily persuaded to preach at her funeral, and to bury her. Sir Michael Armyn and his lady, who bore a good respect to her, with some gentlewomen from their house, I invited. The people of the town use to come on such occasions without invitation. I knew I owed a more than ordinary respect, and therefore provided such entertainment for the guests, as was more than ordinary upon such solemnities; besides bread for the numerous poor that came from the towns adjoining, there was wine, and cakes and bread above what was used. I have deposited my best jewel in the middle of Ingoldsby chancel. I thought it better to have her buried as soon as we came to church, before sermon. I thought it would be inconvenient to have the corpse stand all the while in the midst of the church.

After sermon our little one (her late offspring) was baptized. The women wished it might be so; and so it hath been done in this country. I advised she might be named Mary, after her mother. God make her like her mother in the best things, as she is in her little age not unlike her.

She was religiously brought up, and lived accordingly. She was a follower of Christ in benignity and nobleness of spirit, in humility, self-denial, and patience, in readiness to do good, with a particular care and delight to do good to the poor. She was constant, reverent, and serious in the duties of religion, conscientiously strict in her life, but without any superstitious scrupulosities; humble towards men, profoundly humble towards God, in the sense of her own unworthiness, from the sense of which she would often weep to me. She was affable, courteous, and pitiful; of a free spirit (but provident), abhorred what was sordid.¹

¹ Every line tells its own tale in this impressive sketch.

[Upon a fair large stone in the middle of Ingoldsby chancel :

HERE LIETH THE BODY
OF MRS.

MARY WORTHINGTON,

THE WIFE OF DR.

JOHN WORTHINGTON,

RECTOR OF THIS

CHURCH.

SHE DECEASED ON

AUG. 8, 1667.

PHIL. 1, 21.

TO DIE IS GAIN.]

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

May it please your Grace,

Being encouraged by your Grace's kind aspects and favour to me upon all occasions of my waiting upon your Grace, and your Grace professing a readiness to help me when I could hear of any desirable accommodation, I am emboldened at this time to acquaint your Grace that I received very lately the notice of Mr. R. Herri¹rick [Heyrick¹] Warden of Manchester, his dangerous sickness, with a desire from some worthy characters that I would look after the place.

¹ A very full account of the life of Richard Heyrick, Warden of Manchester College from 1635 to his death in August, 1667, is given by Dr. Hibbert Ware in his *History of the Manchester Foundations*, and a condensed notice of him will be met with in a note to the *Life of Adam Martindale*, pp. 56-7. His last illness is referred to in Newcome's *Autobiography*, vol. i. p. 167. The general result, on an impartial consideration of Heyrick's Wardenship and character, is perhaps not very favourable. He had the office given to him to extinguish an old debt due from the Crown, and he ultimately kept his place in it by defiance of the law. He was certainly a remarkable man and conspicuous for the energy with which he prosecuted every object which he sought for the time being to advance; but I must confess that I entertain considerable doubt whether all the features in Dr. Hibbert Ware's portrait of him are drawn from the life. I think that he exaggerates Heyrick's bias to the ordinances of the Church of England, as, not only on the point of episcopacy, but on

That which commends this place¹ to me is that Manchester is my native town, where I was born and brought up. My father² (who died many years since) was a grave, peaceable, honest man, one of chief note and esteem in the town; a diligent caller of me up to the early prayers in the church before I went to school.³

many others, he appears to have been a double-dyed Presbyterian. Indeed the great achievement of his life was the prominent part he took in introducing the Presbyterian church discipline into Lancashire. I can find no warrant for ascribing to him, as Dr. Hibbert Ware has done, want of ambition and indifference with regard to money. If a strong anxiety to be a leading man, and to have a party, be ambition, he had quite enough of that element; and, as he died rich, he would appear not to have been wanting in attention to his pecuniary interests. Perhaps the most amusing circumstance in his life is his determination not to be ejected from his Wardenship at the Restoration, and not to renounce the Covenant; in other words, not to obey the law; and the success with which he carried his point. His sermons, with little either of eloquence or logic, have a certain boisterous rhetoric of their own, which, set off by an impressive delivery, would undoubtedly produce an effect upon his congregation. His sermon on King Charles's restoration is most characteristic of the man. Richard Johnson, his colleague, who had always been a consistent loyalist, and had never complied, had preached a discourse on the King's return which had created a great sensation. The Warden, not to be outdone, though his compliances were notorious to every body, when it came to his turn to preach was carried away by a perfect paroxysm or furor of loyalty, and concluded his sermon by the following grand burst: "*Shout and cry aloud, let heaven and earth echo it back again, God save the King! let the King live, God save the King! They are the last words of my text, and they shall be the last of my sermon, and let all the people shout it out with a loud shout — God save the King!*"

¹ Amongst the natives of Manchester to whom the Wardenship has been an object of ardent desire, none ever panted after it more eagerly than the Rev. John Whitaker. His manuscript correspondence with George Chalmers, which I possess, shows his mind to have been constantly intent upon this object. Little did good Dr. Asahton, the then Warden, suspect how rapidly the news of every variation in his health was forwarded to Ruan Lanyhorne by the telegraphic communication from Manchester; and that the profound and indefatigable antiquary, however absorbed in his researches, would at any time leave Hannibal half way up the Alps, or Mary with the axe suspended over her, on a sudden missive to inform him that the Warden was at last "beyond all question breaking up."

² His father, Roger Worthington, died in August, 1649, and was interred in the parish church of Manchester.

³ The Free Grammar School of Manchester, where he was educated, though his name does not appear in the list of its distinguished alumni at the end of Mr. Whatton's History.

The town is now become more acceptable to me by reason of the good library¹ which I sometime mentioned to your Grace, where I might have the advantage and pleasure of following my private studies.

It is a cheap place to live in, otherwise the Wardenship would hardly be a competency² to one that hath four children to take care for, and desires to live upon it without other additional dignities.

I am now in the afternoon of my life,³ and it hath been for some time my desire that I might end my days among my friends, leave my children amongst them, and be gathered to the sepulchres of my fathers.

My desire also is to do the Church some service there.⁴ What service I did heretofore, in the late times, is known to some whom your Grace values.

¹ The Chetham Library, of which his "ancient acquaintance," Richard Johnson, the Fellow, was appointed in 1658 the first Librarian, with power to employ a deputy. He held the situation till his death in 1675. Of the very valuable and extensive contents of this collection a new catalogue, which will greatly facilitate the trouble of reference, is now, I am happy to say, in the course of preparation, by the present learned, able, and most obliging Librarian, my friend, Mr. Thomas Jones. The first descriptive sketch of this library, to which in my early days of study I had many obligations, is, I think, that which was inserted by me in *Blackwood's Magazine* of June, 1821.

² When the revenues of the Wardenship were increased in a very much greater proportion than that which the difference of the times (1667 and 1840) and the altered value of money would effect, it was rejected, as is well known, by Dr. Arnold, on account of the insufficiency of its income. "*The Wardenship (of Manchester) I declined, for the income was so comparatively small that I should have found a difficulty in educating my children on it.*" — Letter of June 18, 1840: *Life of Thomas Arnold*, D.D., vol. ii. p. 213. Worthington estimated it at £120 per annum only.

³ He was then in his fiftieth year.

⁴ "That he (Dr. Worthington) had a design to do our church here some service I readily believe, both because he writ so to the Archbishop, and because I know he had been concerned about some memorials of our church and town, and particularly had done that service to it (which was that perhaps mentioned in his letter) as to take an account of the painted glass windows in our church whilst intire, with the histories, inscriptions, and coats of arms in them. This I have oft inquired after and should be very glad if it might be retrieved, and shall beg the favour of a copy of it, if in your hands, I mean among his papers, as I hope it may be." — Letter from Dr. R. Wroe, Warden of Manchester College, to the Rev. John Worthington, dated Manchester,

Mr. Johnson¹ is my ancient acquaintance. Mr. Moseley (ano-

April 25th, 1712. This account of the painted windows in the Manchester Collegiate Church, now its Cathedral, has not been recovered. A description of the fragments which remain will be seen on reference to the History of the Manchester Foundations, vol. ii. pp. 248, 283, 286.

¹ Richard Johnson, M.A., sometime senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was the second son of Mr. William Johnson of Welch Whittle, in the county of Lancaster, (one of the Gentlemen Pensioners of King James I.) by his wife, Eulalia, daughter of Mr. Wood of Wood, in the county of Oxford. His eldest brother, Ferdinando Johnson, died s.p.; and his third brother, Alexander, lived at Preston, was a Pensioner of Charles I., and in the Commission of the Peace for the county of Lancaster. The eldest son of Alexander, and nephew of Mr. Richard Johnson, was William Johnson of Rushton Grange, in Bowland, in the county of York, Esq., who married Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Dr. John Chambers, Dean of Carlisle and Vice Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was direct ancestor of the Rev. William Johnson, the kinsman of Archbishop Potter, and Vicar of Whalley, of whom Dr. Whitaker has preserved some interesting incidents (Whalley, p. 153, third edit). Mr. Richard Johnson in 1631, being then Fellow of Manchester College, had a hot controversy "about the nature of sin" with his aged colleague, the Rev. William Bourne, which excited much public notice. In 1634 Mr. Johnson contributed five pounds towards the building of Salford Chapel. In 1636 he was principally employed in drawing up the new charter for the College, which was revised by Archbishop Laud, and he seems through life to have been a sound English Churchman. He vindicated the use of the surplice against the Puritans, and was a consistent advocate of the polity of the Church. As a zealous royalist and cavalier he was imprisoned, and being mounted on a sorry nag, says Walker, he was led through the streets of Manchester in mock triumph with wisps of straw wrapped round his legs, and suffered much from the mob. His wife (her name is not given in the pedigree recorded in the College of Arms) and brother-in-law, Mr. John Chorlton, were also imprisoned. — (Sufferings of the Clergy.) Dr. Fleming discovered one or two of his letters amongst the Chetham Papers, from which it appears that he was considered by the Puritans a *Romanizer*, but the stigma was unmerited. Humphrey Chetham, the Founder, by his will dated Dec. 16, 1651, shows his high regard for Johnson and his principles by bequeathing him a legacy of sixty pounds as his "loving friend, Mr. Richard Johnson, preacher at the Temple, London," and also by nominating him one of the three clergymen to select books for a "Public Library in Manchester," now the Chetham Library, and to provide books for certain other parishes. At this time Mr. Johnson had been deprived of his Fellowship by the Puritans. He was restored to it in 1660, and was named a Governor of Chetham's Hospital in the Charter of Incorporation 1665. In 1671 he is styled "Sub-guardianus" of the College, being at that time senior Fellow. He died about the year 1675. Fuller, giving an account of Humphrey Chetham, observes (vol. ii. p. 215): "Know, reader, I am beholding for my exact information herein to my worthy friend, Mr. Johnson, late preacher of the Temple, and one of the feoffees appointed by Mr. Chetham for the uses aforesaid."

ther of the fellows)¹ was my pupil in Cambridge, one whom I caused to be perfected in music. And if I should not know more what belongs to church music than some that are dignified, I have ill bestowed my time and money.

My case for the present is this. After no small loss at Benet Fynck by the fire, I was forced to take a tedious journey with my poor family into the north, where I staid all winter. In April I removed into Lincolnshire, to Ingoldsby, near Grantham, a living much impaired by inclosing the field, and now the tithes, being paid in money, come very hardly out of countrymen's purses. The house very incommodious, and instead of seeking for reparations for dilapidations, I could not but in charity let my predecessor's widow, poor, and full of children, collect £50 for an half year, which upon a fair account was due to me. I trust in God I shall not be the poorer for it.

This was written about 1665-6. Mr. Johnson seems to have had no issue. His nieces married Mr. Banastre of Altham, Mr. Hammerton of Hellfield Peel, Dr. Daniel Nichols, Rector of Hadley, and Mr. Henry Blundell of Preston, whilst another, unmarried in 1664, was in attendance upon the celebrated Anne, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery. — For this and the next note I am indebted to my friend the Rev. Canon Raines's *Fasti Mancunienses*, at present only in manuscript, but which I trust to see speedily published, as it is too valuable a contribution to the history of Manchester to be allowed to remain unprinted.

¹ Francis Mosley, youngest son of Oswald Mosley, of Ancoats, Esq., who died in 1680, *æt.* 47, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, elected Fellow of Manchester College in 1660, collated to the Vicarage of Banbury, in the county of Oxford, in 1661, and instituted to the Rectory of Wilmslow in Cheshire in 1673. "On the 8th December, 1661, whilst the Presbyterian minister, Mr. Richardson, was hesitating and perplexed about reading in the Collegiate Church the two acts of parliament declaring against the Covenant, &c., on Dec. 16, Mr. Mosley stepped forward and read them." — *Martindale's Life*, Note, p. 162; edit. by Canon Parkinson. — He married Catherine, second daughter of John Davenport, of Davenport, in the County of Chester, Esq., by whom he had issue four sons and three daughters. In 1671 he was the "Registrar" of the College, being at that time the third Fellow, and in 1676 he is styled "Sub-warden," being the senior Fellow, and having been the "Collector" of the College from the year 1674. He was buried at Manchester on the 14th of August, 1699, having been nearly forty years a Fellow of the College, and his relict was interred there on the 7th of September, 1702. Sir Oswald Mosley has given a brief but melancholy account of his last male descendant, who squandered the whole of his property, and died in 1781. *Memoirs of the Mosley Family*, 4to, p. 35. *Fasti Mancunienses*, a MS.

But, not to mention other inconveniences of the place, there is another reason which doth enforce me to desire a removal. It hath pleased God, the last week, to afflict me with the greatest affliction that I ever had experience of, and that was the decease of my wife. Her piety and reverent devotion, humility, and charity, her singular good disposition and care of the family, make me justly sensible of my loss; and this place helping to renew my grief, it would be great levamen to me to be removed hence.¹

I know your Grace is so generous as to compassionate me in these circumstances. And if Mr. Heyrick be dead, there is an opportunity to relieve me. If he be not, as I desire not another's death for any advantage to myself, the notice of his sickness will move some to solicit the king for a grant of the place beforehand. And sometimes when such promises are obtained, the party is otherwise gratified with what he likes as well or better.

I do not pretend to any merit, though I have taken extraordinary pains for the public good. I never aimed thereby at any advantage for myself, as I never did receive the least dignity. And I shall live and die praying for the prosperity of our Jerusalem, though I receive not the fruits of it. There are many worthy persons, but perhaps few in my circumstances. Some have not such a charge of little ones; others are well provided for, in more than one place or dignity, and such as are my juniors in degree and standing; whereas my desires have been always moderate and modest, but for one place of competency, to live becomingly in a plain way.

But I have trespassed upon your Grace's occasions by too tedious a letter. I was enforced to write, not being in a capacity to take a journey to wait upon your Grace, by reason that the affairs of my family (now in much confusion) require my being here, and because two others of my family are fallen sick of this new distemper that hath taken away the mother, whom I dare not leave till I see how God shall dispose of them.

I hope your Grace will forgive this boldness, and the confusedness

¹ This, though last mentioned, was unquestionably the main-spring of the present application.

of the lines, I being, since this infliction, in a more unfit disposition to write. And may I enjoy the fruits of this humble address, by virtue of your Grace's mediation, I shall be much more obliged to be

Your Grace's, &c.,

Aug. 12, 1667.

J. W. [orthington.]

For my hon. friend Dr. Worthington, Ingoldsby, &c.

[From Bishop Dolben.]¹

Sir,

I am heartily sorry for your great loss, and for the defeat of your expectation at Ingoldsby, where I did, with some content,

¹ Dr. John Dolben was one of those prelates who could have discoursed, from personal experience, of

“ — most disastrous chances,

Of moving accidents by flood and field,

Of hairbreadth 'scapes in the imminent deadly breach,” —

for from Christ Church, Oxford, where he was pursuing his studies, he went out as a volunteer to join the royal army, served as an ensign in the battle of Marston Moor, where he received a dangerous wound in the shoulder from a musket ball, and in the defence of York soon after sustained a still severer wound of the same kind in the thigh, which broke the bone and confined him twelve months to his bed. Whilst he lay thus prostrate, did any comforting vision reveal to him that he was destined as the successor of the holy Paulinus, as the Archbishop of that See, to wage the war against spiritual foes as vigorously as in the King's cause he had done against temporal? When Oxford and other garrisons were surrendered, and there was no more hope of serving the King, he renewed his studies at College, where he remained till ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648. In 1656 he entered into holy orders, and from that period (or shortly after) to the Restoration he lived in Oxford, and throughout that interval, in conjunction with Dr. Fell and Dr. Allestree, constantly performed divine service and administered the sacraments, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to the Royalist congregation there; from which circumstance the subject of the fine painting by Sir Peter Lely in the mansion of the family in Northamptonshire is taken, representing the three divines, in their canonical habits, as joining in the Liturgic service. On the Restoration preferments came rapidly, as from his loyalty and sufferings might naturally be expected. His having married a niece of Archbishop Sheldon did not certainly contribute to retard them. In 1666 he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, in 1675 appointed Lord High Almoner, and

apprehend you to be conveniently seated. Your intelligence from Manchester came very slow, for the Wardenship was given and under seal before I received your letter, which came to me Aug. 19, though dated 12. I must confess I myself am concerned in the person who hath it, and goes thither to-morrow, he being my chaplain and my nephew-in-law.¹ But the king bestowed it on him ere I heard of its being void. When I see my Lord's Grace I will mention your case, and endeavour to actuate the good inclinations which he hath to provide for you. Nor will I be wanting upon any good occasion to express myself, sir,

Your very assured friend to serve you,

Aug. 22.

Joh. Roffen.

To the Bishop of Rochester.

[From Dr. Worthington.]

My Lord,

I am obliged humbly to thank your Lordship for the great

translated to York in August, 1683. His death took place at Bishopsthorpe on the 11th April, 1686, in the sixty-second year of his age. Anthony Wood's character of him may be accepted as a just and well-deserved one: "He was a man of a free, generous, and noble disposition, and of a natural, bold, and happy eloquence." He was not a voluminous author. All he has left behind are three occasional sermons, published in 1664, 1665, and 1666, 4to, which I have read, and which are very respectable evidences of his powers.

¹ Dr. Nicholas Stratford, who held the Wardenship of Manchester College from 1667 to 1684, and who was afterwards Bishop of Chester from September, 1689, to his death in February, 1706-7. A full account of the affairs of his Wardenship will be found in Dr. Hibbert Ware's *History of the Foundations of Manchester*, vol. ii., for which a portrait of him was engraved, and a notice of his life in the Rev. Canon Raines's *Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. i. p. 16. Of his works, which consist of sermons and tracts, Wood gives a list (*Athenæ*, vol. iv. p. 670). Dr. Stratford's appointment was a very good one. In the long line of Wardens, none ever maintained a more irreproachable character. When subsequently advanced to the see of Chester, he discharged the duties of the episcopal office with universal approbation. His publications manifest his learning, ability, and zeal, and the common consent of his contemporaries bears witness to his charity and benevolence, his humility and devotion.

favour of your late letter, and the readiness which your Lordship expresses therein, to endeavour upon any good occasion my better accommodations, as also to mind my Lord of Canterbury of my condition.

By your Lordship's letter I understand that the person designed for the Wardenship of Manchester college was a near relation, but had I had the least notice of such a one being a candidate for the place, I should not have troubled your Lordship with such a letter, which might in the least seem to clash with your Lordship's intended kindness for a nephew, and a person of worthy character, to whom I heartily wish all content and happiness in that place. But if he should be removed to a better place (as some are apt to think that he will be in a short time), may I then, in confidence of your Lordship's noble benignity and goodwill, make this humble request, that your Lordship would please to move my Lord of Canterbury about the reversion, that I may be thought on in case Mr. Stratford is promoted to a better place.

I have still more arguments to enforce my removal from Ingoldsby; since my late great loss and affliction I have had five sick in my family. I thought I should have lost three of my children, but (God be thanked) two of them are recovered, only one continues sick still. And for myself I have been sick above five weeks, and so as I never was heretofore. I doubt it will prove a lingering ague. The air I fear is not agreeable, and the parsonage house is very inconvenient to be in, which furthers our illness, I think, and retards our recovery.

In such a condition as I am now in, I am not well disposed for writing, your Lordship will therefore excuse the many imperfections of these lines, and your noble candour pardon this second trouble given to your Lordship by

Your Lordship's humbly devoted,

J. W.[orthington.]

To my very loving friend, Dr. John Worthington, &c.

[From Archbishop Sheldon.]

Sir,

Your letter was long in coming to me, and before I received it (which was but this morning) the Wardenship was disposed of. I am very sorry for your late loss, but need not teach you how to bear such afflictions, which patience and time will wear away.¹ If it be in my power to do you a kindness, I shall ever be to you as I have been, ready to perform it; and I will be mindful of you, and endeavour to find something which may be near and convenient to you.

I am, sir, your very loving friend,

Lambeth House, Aug. 20, 1667.

Gilb. Cant.

In a Letter to Dr. Ingelo, Oct. 19, 1667.²

[From Dr. Worthington.]

— When you come to London you will see Dr. Tillotson, to whom I pray you to remember me kindly. I have been much engaged to him for his mindfulness of me. When he heard that Mr. Heyrick, Warden of Manchester, was dead, he went of his own accord to move for me, but it was bestowed before on Mr. Stratford. I had letters from Lancashire about it (one a little before his death, another after it) wishing me to look after the place, it being the desire of many, and the chief there, to enjoy me. I easily supposed it was too late; yet, because I would not seem to neglect my friends, I wrote two letters, one to the Archbishop, the other to the

¹ It may be doubted whether they ever did in Worthington's case. During the short remainder of his life his irreparable loss, which he calls "the fiery trial of the 8th of August," seems to have been ever present to him.

² The diary from August 20th to the end of the year is a melancholy record of forty-nine fits consequent on an attack of quartan ague, which he registers without any remark. The year 1667 was truly a year of sorrow to Worthington.

Bishop of Rochester, of whose good will towards me I had received proofs formerly. I had letters from them both again, with fair expressions, telling me that the place was bestowed and the patent under seal before my letters came. I was also beholden to Dr. Tillotson for speaking to Mr. Burton, Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, in my behalf. There are some livings that are of little value in the King's books, which yet are considerable; as Farnham (not far from you) which is better than this I have, and Cluyt (not a mile from you) which is, if I be not mistaken, as good as this. And there may be other livings thereabouts, though I know not of them. The Secretary to the Lord Keeper hath a catalogue of all. That which inclines me more to your parts, is not only your library, which hath good books for use, besides that lesser library which is at Windsor, and the nearness to Oxford and London (where there are many opportunities of being serviceable) — but that I may be nearer to known friends, of whose society I have now the more need. You and I have been acquainted for more than a few years. I have endeavoured, according to my poor abilities, to do as a friend. By your help and assistance I might be the better enabled to order and settle my private concerns, and be furthered in my endeavours for the public good, to which I desire to devote myself, there being nothing more worthy of our serious diligence than to be serviceable (*ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν*) to the good of others, and, taking our hearts from this present world, to purify our souls into a disposition that is meet and qualified for the heavenly state. This piece of Christian philosophy is more effectually to be learnt in the school of affliction; and happy are they that lay these things to heart; they live with more ease in the world; they leave the world without trouble, and depart in peace. You intended at

Oxford to see Dr. Hammond's MS. on the Proverbs. What do you think of it? What volume will it make?¹ I suppose a quarto, except out of his papers some were collected that explain other passages in Scripture, and then the addition of such miscellanies, with the other, would make a thin folio. If I were fitly accommodated, I should not be unready (having had experience in preparing things of some bulk for the press) to assist with my best endeavours, both for the sake of the public good and out of respect to the memory of the worthy author, to whom I was obliged. I desire you to secure the copy for Mr. Royston, who hath so well printed the rest of the Doctor's works. When you come to London this term, pray use your best diligence and interest to end the business with Sir Charles Doe. It is now a year at least since he had the money. He hath promised from time to time it should be paid, but hath not performed. When you come to Westminster, could you not call on the Bishop of Rochester? I suppose you are well acquainted with him, by means of your Provost, they two being great friends. If you wait upon him, you will present my due regards to him. Perhaps he may speak to you of my last letter in answer to his, wherein he professed a great readiness to assist me upon any good occasion. There are several things in the King's disposal (or such as sometimes use to be disposed of by his mandate) better than those that are by the seal. And he is near, and often at Court. It is easier to get a promise beforehand than the grant of a thing in hand or that is actually void. But if you had rather not speak with him about this, let it alone. At London you may enquire of some booksellers where Mosley's widow now keeps shop. I hear she saved her books from the great fire.

¹ Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Notes on the First Ten Chapters of Proverbs are published in the fourth volume of his works.

Her husband printed Crashaw's poems. You may speak to her to send me down two of the second edition, and I will return one to her again, with the printed poems corrected by the author's original copy, and also with the addition of other poems of his, written with his own hand, and not yet printed. The original copy is with a neighbour of mine, the author's intimate friend. I desire you also to procure for me of Mr. Marriot those few sermons of Mr. Hales which he printed.

P.S. One thing more comes into my mind. It was often in my thoughts to have my dear wife's picture, and sometimes I mentioned it to her. She would always reply that mine must be done first then.¹ I had no great desire to have mine, but yet had it not been for our troubles and cares, and pilgrimage-condition in removing, &c., I should have yielded to it.² Now my great desire to you is to beg your help in this matter. Perhaps Newman, the printer, hath not forgot her face, and you may help his remembrance and direct about it. Let him try only the head, and when you see you may direct where he is to alter with his pencil. I shall thankfully pay for his labour. If he do but hit it, I could but procure it to be done again by some other artist. Her face was small, and round, and ruddy, in her nose there was a little rising; her eye was a vivid grey. I would not have him draw her in her hair, nor with any curled hair on her forehead, she was not so dressed in her life time, she thought she never could be grave enough in her dress. There are some printed books with heads, and amongst them perhaps some may be found not unlike, but the other is the likelier way.

¹ There is something very touching in the terms in which he makes known his wishes to have some representation, however imperfect, of the countenance which, we may safely aver, had never looked towards him but with benignity and affection.

² From this it appears that no portrait of Worthington had at this time (1667) been taken.

The Eleventh Report

OF THE

COUNCIL OF THE CHETHAM SOCIETY,

*Read at the Annual Meeting of the Society held on the 17th,
by adjournment from the 1st of March, 1854.*

SOME delay has inevitably arisen in the delivery of the third of the volumes for 1852-3, being the thirtieth in the series of the Society's Publications, *Documents relating to the Priory of Penwortham, and other Possessions in Lancashire of the Abbey of Evesham*, edited by W. A. HULTON, Esq. It has now been issued to the Members, and will be found, it is conceived, not less acceptable than the previous volumes which contain the *Whalley Abbey Coucher Book*, edited by the same gentleman. After mentioning the Editor's name it is scarcely necessary to observe that these Documents are edited with great care and accuracy. They are accompanied by a very interesting Introduction and Notes, embodying much valuable Historical and Genealogical Information.

The Publications for the year 1853-4 consist :

1st. Of *The Stanley Papers*, Part II., containing *The Derby Household Books, comprising an Account of the Household Regulations and Expenses of Edward and Henry, third and fourth Earls of Derby*, edited by the Rev. F. R. RAINES. The Council, in referring to this work, cannot omit to record the great obligation which the Society is under to Miss FFRINGTON of Worden, for placing these Household Accounts and other Historical Documents at their disposal, and for the three Portraits of the

Earls of Derby which form so desirable an illustration of the volume. The present work affords us a striking picture of these great Noblemen in their household and in their social hour, whom Mr. THOMAS HEYWOOD'S very pleasing volume had placed before us in their connection with the Poetry and Poets of their age. The Council are satisfied that every one who takes an interest in Lancashire History and Biography, or generally in the study of Character and Manners, will feel deeply indebted to Mr. RAINES for the masterly manner in which he has edited and illustrated the Derby Household Accounts, and for the varied stores of original information which he has afforded with respect to the persons, families, and subjects noticed and embraced in this elaborate and important publication.

The 2nd volume for 1853-4 is Vol. I. Part. I. of *The Remains of John Byrom*, edited by the Rev. R. PARKINSON, D.D. It includes the early Correspondence and a portion of the Diary of this distinguished native of Manchester. The Diary, during the period to which it relates, gives with great faithfulness and minuteness his daily occupations in London and Manchester, his habits of life, his studies, his amusements, his intercourse with parties in town and country and in all ranks of life. Independently of the collateral interest which attaches to the various local Biographical and Historical Notices, however brief, which necessarily form part of such a Diary, such a record of such a man will, the Council rest assured, be most gladly accepted by the Members of the CHETHAM SOCIETY. Through the kindness of his most estimable descendant, Miss ATHERTON, to whose munificent liberality in reference to this publication the Society is under the greatest obligations, a Portrait of Dr. Byrom, of whom no faithful likeness has hitherto appeared, will be prefixed to the work.

The 3rd volume for 1853-4 will be *Christopher Towneley's Abstracts of Lancashire Inquisitions*, edited by WILLIAM LANGTON, Esq. Of these three volumes the first has already appeared, and the second and third are in a good state of forwardness, and will be issued with all practicable expedition.

DR. *ARTHUR HENRY HEYWOOD, Treasurer, in Account with the Chetham Society, 1853-4.* CR.

| | L. S. D. |
|---|-----------|
| 2 Arrears of 1850-51 collected..... | 2 0 0 |
| 9 Arrears of 1851-2 | 9 0 0 |
| 1 Commuted for Life Membership | 10 0 0 |
| 10 Reported at the last Annual Meeting. | |
| 78 Subscriptions of 1852-3, reported at the last Annual Meeting. | |
| 1 Outstanding. | |
| 77 Collected | 77 0 0 |
| 1 Vacant Life Membership filled up | 10 0 0 |
| 8 Subscriptions of 1853-4 accounted for last year. | |
| 50 Do. now in arrear. | |
| 249 Annual Subscriptions collected | 249 0 0 |
| 307 | |
| 43 Life Members. | |
| 350 | |
| 2 New Life Members paid 1853-4 | 20 0 0 |
| 9 Subscriptions for 1854-5 paid in ad- vance | 9 0 0 |
| Books supplied to Members | 7 5 4 |
| Dividend on Consols, £250 | 7 5 8 |
| Interest from the Bank | 7 3 0 |
| 1853. | £407 14 0 |
| March 1. Balance in hand..... | 268 6 1 |
| | £676 0 1 |

Audited by

JOSEPH PEEL,
GEORGE PEEL,
JOHN WALKER.

| | L. S. D. |
|--|----------|
| 1853. | |
| Mar. 1. Paid for room for Meeting and Advertisements | 0 14 0 |
| „ 10. „ Stationery and News- papers..... | 0 8 6 |
| Apr. 4. „ Horatio Rodd..... | 5 0 0 |
| „ 18. „ Simms and Dinham, on account..... | 120 0 0 |
| May 12. „ Postage by Hon. Sec. | 1 10 0 |
| „ 24. „ Engraving for Vol. 30 | 3 0 0 |
| July 11. „ Simms & Dinham ba- lance Vols. 28 and 29 | 17 5 8 |
| | 187 5 3 |
| „ „ „ Charles Simms | 7 2 6 |
| Nov. 16. „ Carriage of Books to Warrington | 0 6 0 |
| „ „ „ Engraving for Vol. 30. | 6 0 0 |
| Dec. 16. „ Engraving for Visita- tion of Lancashire | 5 0 0 |
| „ 31. „ Stamps and Postages | 1 15 1 |
| 1854. | |
| Jan. 24. „ George Simms, on ac- count of Vol. 31..... | 125 0 0 |
| „ „ „ Printing Frontispiece to Vol. 30 | 1 13 6 |
| Feb. 21. „ Loss by Light Gold ... | 0 0 7 |
| „ 24. „ Advertising..... | 0 12 0 |
| „ „ „ Postages | 3 4 6 |
| Mar. 2. „ George Simms, bind- ing, &c. Vol. 31 | 23 1 0 |
| „ „ „ „ Vol. 30 | 104 10 9 |
| | 126 11 9 |
| | £425 2 8 |
| „ „ „ Balance in the Bank | 250 17 5 |
| | £676 0 1 |

ARTHUR H. HEYWOOD, Treasurer.

The Twelfth Report

OF THE

COUNCIL OF THE CHETHAM SOCIETY,

*Read at the Annual Meeting of the Society,
hold on the 1st of March, 1855.*

THE Publications of the Society for the last year are :

1st. *Byrom's Journal and Remains*, Vol. I. Part II. Edited by the Rev. Dr. PARKINSON, Canon of Manchester, and Principal of St. Bees College. This part comprises the period between the years 1729 and 1735, including his correspondence with Deacon, Law, and others. On the attractions of this work, developing the full-length portrait of one of the most amiable, original, and accomplished in the series of English Poets, with incidental notices frequently of the greatest value of some of his great and eminent contemporaries, and pictures of the habits, manners, and modes of living at the period, more complete and minute than any which we were before in possession of, it is wholly superfluous for the Council to make any remark. The work appears to have excited the general attention which it deserves, and will undoubtedly take a permanent place in that delightful class of literary productions in which Evelyn and Pepys lead the way.

2nd. *Household Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Smithills and Gawthorpe*. Edited by JOHN HARLAND, Esq., F.S.A. This is a selection of various items contained in the Household Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Smithills and Gawthorpe, extending, with one or two short intervals, from the year 1582 to 1621; and will, it is conceived, supply a great

desideratum which exists in the social history of that period. Though several publications may be referred to which furnish details of the expenditure in royal and noble houses and progresses and journeys, we are still without any which afford us a full view of the domestic economics, the disbursements for daily expenses, and the prices paid for the various articles of life, through a succession of years, in the establishment of a country gentleman of the Elizabethan era. This will be given in the present publication, which comprises a period of nearly fifty years, including the year of the Spanish Armada, respecting which some documents, copies of which were found amongst the Gawthorpe papers, will be printed in an Appendix. The obvious utility and value of the present work to the general as well as to the local historian are too clear to render it at all necessary for the Council to enlarge upon them.

3rd. *Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, Vol. II. Part I. Edited by JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq., F.S.A. This portion of the work, the first volume of which was issued in 1847, continues the correspondence with Hartlib to its close, and gives a part of that with Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Henry More, and others. The Diary is carried on from 1661, through the period of the great Plague and Fire of London, to Dr. Worthington's settlement at Ingoldsby, in Lincolnshire, in 1667.

Of these works the first has been issued, the third will appear in the early part of the next month, and the second is regularly progressing to its close. *Christopher Towneley's Abstracts of Lancashire Inquisitions*, by WILLIAM LANGTON, Esq., which forms Vol. III. for the year 1843-4, has been delayed by the Editor's engagements, but may be expected to be issued in the course of a short time.

The Publications in progress are :

1. *Byrom's Journal and Remains*, Vol. II.
2. *Documents connected with the Shrievalty of William Ffarington, Esq., of Worden, who was Sheriff for the County Palatine of Lancaster in 1636.* Edited by Miss FFARINGTON.
3. *Chetham Miscellanies*, Vol. II.
4. *Index to the Chester Inquisitions Post Mortem.* Edited by WILLIAM BEAMONT, Esq.
5. *Lancashire and Gheshire Wills.* Edited by the Rev. G. J. PICCOPE.

6. *Worthington's Diary and Correspondence*, Vol. II., the second and concluding Part.

7. *Nathan Walworth's Correspondence with Peter Seddon, of Outwood, near Manchester, from 1623 to 1654*. Edited by ROBERT SCARR SOWLER, Esq.

8. *Heraldic Visitations of Lancashire*. Edited by T. DORNING HIBBERT, Esq.

9. *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, or Bibliographical Notices of some of the rarer Poetical Volumes in the Library of a Lancashire Resident*.

DR. **ARTHUR HENRY HEYWOOD**, *Treasurer, in Account with the Chetham Society, 1854-5.* CR.

| | L. | S. | D. |
|--|------|----|----|
| 1 Arrear of 1853-3 collected..... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 50 Subscriptions of 1853-4, reported at the last Annual Meeting. | | | |
| 48 Collected..... | 48 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Outstanding. | | | |
| 9 Subscriptions for 1854-5, accounted for last year. | | | |
| 45 Do. now in arrear. | | | |
| 254 Annual Subscriptions collected | 254 | 0 | 0 |
| 308 | | | |
| 43 Life Members. | | | |
| 350 | | | |
| 8 Subscriptions for 1855-6, paid in advance | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Guineas received for Pounds sterling . | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Books supplied to Members | 76 | 6 | 8 |
| Dividend on Consols, £250..... | 7 | 1 | 4 |
| Miss Atherton | 250 | 0 | 8 |
| Ditto | 20 | 11 | 0 |
| Interest from the Bank | 15 | 12 | 3 |
| 1854. | £680 | 14 | 3 |
| March 2. Balance on hand | 250 | 17 | 5 |

Audited by

JOSEPH PEEL,
GEORGE PEEL,
JOHN WALKER.

£931 11 8

| | L. | S. | D. |
|--|------|----|----|
| 1854. | | | |
| Mar. 17. Loss on Light Gold | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| " " Hire of Room for Annual Meeting, 1854 | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| Apr. 6. Charles Simms, Printing and Stationery | 1 | 17 | 6 |
| " 19. John Cleghorn, Engraving for "First Visitation of Lancashire" | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| June 14. Postages, per Honorary Secretary | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| July 10. Engraving Dr. Byrom's Portrait (v. per contra) | 20 | 11 | 0 |
| " 23. Advertising | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Oct. 4. Geo. Simms, to account of Vol. 33 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| " 13. Ditto balance of ditto | 21 | 17 | 5 |
| | 141 | 17 | 5 |
| Dec. 31. Draft and Receipt Stamps... | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| " " Postages | 0 | 10 | 2 |
| 1855. | | | |
| Jan. 13. Geo. Simms, to account of Vol. 34 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| " 24. Chas. Simms, Printing and Stationery | 2 | 19 | 0 |
| " " Advertising Annual Meeting | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| " " J. Harrison and Sons, for three Receipt Books | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| Feb. 14. Geo. Simms, balance of Vol. 34..... | 17 | 7 | 6 |
| | 137 | 7 | 6 |
| " " Carriage of Books to War- rington | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| " 23. John Cleghorn, on account of Woodcuts | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| " 28. Charles Simms, on account of Works in progress, viz. Chetham Miscellanies, Vol. 2..... | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| Towneley Inquisitions.. | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Shuttleworth's Stew- ards' Accounts..... | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| Worthington's Diary, Vol. 2..... | 58 | 0 | 0 |
| | 145 | 0 | 0 |
| | 464 | 18 | 7 |
| Feb. 28. Balance in the Bank..... | 466 | 12 | 1 |
| | £931 | 11 | 8 |

ARTHUR H. HEYWOOD, *Treasurer.*

LIST OF MEMBERS

FOR THE YEAR 1854—1855.

Ackers, James, Princknash Park, near Gloucester
 Ainsworth, Ralph F., M.D., Manchester
 Ainsworth, W. H., Kensal Manor-House, Harrow-road,
 London
 Alexander, Edward N., F.S.A., Halifax
 Allen, Rev. John Taylor, M.A., Stradbroke Vicarage,
 Suffolk
 Ashton, John, Warrington
 Aspland, Rev. R. B., Dukinfield
 Atherton, Miss, Kersall Cell, near Manchester
 Atherton, James, Swinton House, near Manchester
 Atkin, William, Little Hulton, near Bolton
 Atkinson, F. R., Pendleton, near Manchester
 Atkinson, William, Ashton Heyes, near Chester
 Atthill, Rev. William, Horsford Vicarage, St. Faith's,
 near Norwich
 Avison, Thomas, Liverpool
 Ayre, Thomas, Trafford Moss, Manchester
 Bagot, Rev. Egerton Arden, M.A., Pye Hayes, near
 Birmingham
 Balcarres, The Earl of, Haigh Hall, near Wigan
 Baldwin, Rev. John, M.A., Dalton, near Ulverstone
 Bannerman, John, Wootton Lodge, near Ashbourne
 Barker, John, Broughton Lodge, near Milnthorpe
 Barlow, George, Greenhill, Oldham
 Barratt, James, Jun., Lymm Hall, near Warrington
 Barrow, Miss, Green Bank, near Manchester
 Bartlemore, William, Castleton Hall, Rochdale
 Barton, John, Manchester
 Barton, R. W., Springwood, near Manchester
 Barton, Samuel, Bowdon
 Barton, Thomas, Manchester
 Beaumont, William, Warrington
 Beard, Rev. John R., D.D., Lower Broughton, near
 Manchester
 Beardoe, James, Manchester
 Beever, James F., Manchester
 Bewicke, Mrs., Pikehouse, Littleborough, Rochdale
 Binyon, Alfred, Manchester
 Bird, William, Liverpool
 Birdsworth, William Carr, Lytham, Preston
 Birley, Hugh, Didsbury, near Manchester
 Birley, Rev. J. S., Halliwell Hall, Bolton
 Birley, Richard, Manchester

Birley, Thomas H., Manchester
 Blackburne, John Ireland, Hale, near Warrington
 Booker, Rev. J., Prestwich
 Booth, Benjamin W., Swinton, near Manchester
 Booth, John, Greenbank, Monton
 Booth, William, Manchester
 Botfield, Beriah, Norton Hall, Northamptonshire
 Bourne, Cornelius, Stalmine Hall, Poulton, near Preston
 Bower, George, London
 Bowers, The Very Rev. G. H., Dean of Manchester
 Brackenbury, Ralph, Manchester
 Bradbury, Charles, Salford
 Brierley, Rev. James, Mosley Moss Hall, Congleton
 Brooke, Edward, Maraden House, Stockport
 Brooks, Samuel, Manchester
 Brooks, The Ven. Archdeacon, Liverpool
 Brown, Robert, Preston
 Buckley, Edmund, Ardwick, near Manchester
 Buckley, Nathaniel, F.L.S., Rochdale
 Buckley, Rev. Thomas, M.A., Old Trafford, near Man-
 chester
 Bunting, Thomas Percival, Manchester
 Burlington, The Earl of, Holkar Hall
 Canterbury, The Archbishop of
 Cassels, Rev. Andrew, Batley, near Leeds
 Chadwick, Elias, M.A., Pudleston Court, Herefordshire
 Chaffers, Rev. Thomas, Brasenose College, Oxford
 Chester, The Bishop of
 Chichester, The Bishop of
 Chippindall, John, Lancaster
 Clare, John Leigh, Liverpool
 Clarke, Archibald William, Manchester
 Clay, Rev. John, M.A., Preston
 Clayton, Japheth, Hermitage, near Holmes Chapel
 Clifton, Rev. R. C., M.A., Canon of Manchester
 Consterdine, Joseph, Manchester
 Cooke, Thomas, Fendlebury, near Manchester
 Corser, George, Whitechurch, Shropshire
 Corser, Rev. Thomas, M.A., Stand, near Manchester
 Cottam, S., Manchester
 Coulthart, John Ross, Ashton-under-Lyne
 Crook, Thomas A., Rochdale
 Cross, William Assheton, Red Scar, Preston
 Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shaw Hill, near Chorley

Crossley, George F., Manchester
 Crossley, James, Manchester
 Crossley, John, M.A., Scaitcliffe Hall, Todmorden
 Currer, Miss Richardson, Eshton Hall, near Gargrave

Daniel, George, Manchester
 Darbishire, Samuel D., Manchester
 Darcey, Rev. John, Swettenham Rectory, Holmes Chapel
 Darwell, James, Beach Priory, Southport
 Darwell, Thomas, Manchester
 Dawes, Matthew, F.S.A., F.G.S., Westbrooke, near Bolton
 Dearden, Miss, Maytham Hall, Rolvenden, Kent
 Dearden, James, F.S.A., The Orchard, Rochdale
 Dearden, Thomas Ferrand, Rochdale
 Delamere, The Lord, Vale Royal, near Northwich
 Derby, The Earl of, Knowsley
 Dilke, C. W., London
 Durnford, Rev. Richard, M.A., Rectory, Middleton
 Dyson, T. J., Upwood Mount, Cheetham Hill

Earle, Frederic William, Edenhurst, near Huyton
 Eccles, Richard, Wigan
 Eckersley, Thomas, Wigan
 Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey, Bart., M.P., Oulton Park, Tarporley
 Egerton, Wilbraham, Tatton Park
 Ellesmere, Earl of, Worsley Hall
 Ethelston, Rev. Hart, M.A., Cheetham Hill

Ffarington, Mrs., Worden Hall, near Chorley
 Faulkner, George, Manchester
 Feilden, Joseph, Witton, near Blackburn
 Fenton, James, Jun., M.A., Grappenhall Lodge, near Warrington
 Fernley, John, Manchester
 Fielden, Samuel, Centre Vale, Todmorden
 Fielding, Rev. Henry, M.A., Salmonby Rectory, near Horncastle
 Fleming, William, M.D., Hill Top, near Kendal
 Fletcher, Samuel, Broomfield, near Manchester
 Fletcher, Samuel, Ardwick, near Manchester
 Ford, Henry, Chester
 Forster, John, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London
 Fort, Richard, Read Hall, Padiham
 Ffrance, Mrs. Wilson, Rawcliffe Hall, near Garstang
 French, Gilbert J., Bolton
 Frere, W. E., Rottingdean, Sussex

Garnett, William James, Quernmore Park, Lancaster
 Germon, Rev. Nicholas, M.A., High Master, Free Grammar School, Manchester
 Gibb, William, Manchester
 Gladstone, Robert, Oak Hill, near Manchester
 Glegg, John Baskerville, Withington Hall, Cheshire
 Gould, John, Manchester
 Grant, Daniel, Manchester
 Greenall, G., Walton Hall, near Warrington
 Gregan, John Edgar, Manchester

Hadfield, George, M.P., Manchester
 Hallstone, Edward, F.S.A., Horton Hall, Bradford, Yorkshire
 Hall, Henry, Solicitor, Ashton-under-Lyne
 Hammill, Miss, Lansdowne Lawn, Cheltenham
 Hardman, Henry, Bury, Lancashire
 Hardy, William, Duchy Office, London
 Hargreaves, George J., Manchester
 Harland, John, Manchester
 Harrison, William, Brearey, Isle of Man
 Harrison, William, Galligreaves House, near Blackburn
 Harter, James Collier, Broughton Hall, near Manchester
 Harter, William, Hope Hall, near Manchester
 Haslam, Samuel Holker, Greenside, Milnthorpe
 Hately, Isaiah, Manchester
 Hatton, James, Richmond House, near Manchester
 Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London
 Heelis, Stephen, Manchester
 Henderson, Rev. John, Parsonage, Colne
 Henry, W. C., M.D., F.R.S., Hafield, near Ledbury
 Heron, Rev. George, M.A., Carrington, Cheshire
 Heywood, Arthur Henry, Manchester
 Heywood, Sir Benjamin, Bart., Claremont, near Manchester
 Heywood, James, M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Headlands, near Manchester
 Heywood, John Pemberton, Norris Green, near Liverpool
 Heywood, Thomas, F.S.A., Hope End, Ledbury, Herefordshire
 Heywood, Thomas, Pendleton, near Manchester
 Heyworth, Lawrence, Oakwood, near Stockport
 Hibbert, Thomas Dorning, Temple, London
 Hickson, Charles, Manchester
 Hoare, Harry James, The Lodge, Morden, Surrey
 Hoare, P. R., Kelsey Park, Beckenham, Kent
 Holden, Thomas, Summerfield, Bolton
 Holme, Bryan Thomas, New Inn, London
 Hornby, Rev. William, St. Michael's, Garstang
 Hughes, Thomas, Chester
 Hughes, William, Old Trafford, near Manchester
 Hull, William Winstanley, Tickwood, near Shiffnal, Shropshire
 Hulton, Rev. A. H., M.A., Walmesley, near Bury, Lancashire
 Hulton, Rev. C. G., M.A., Emberton, Newport Pagnel, Bucks
 Hulton, H. T., Manchester
 Hulton, W. A., Hurst Grange, Preston
 Hume, Rev. A., LL.D., Liverpool
 Hunter, Rev. Joseph, F.S.A., London

Jacson, Charles R., Barton Lodge, Preston
 James, Paul Moon, Summerville, near Manchester
 Jemmett, William Thomas, Manchester
 Jervis, Thomas B., Swinton Park, Manchester
 Johnson, W. R., Manchester

Jones, Jos., Jun., Hathershaw Hall, Oldham
 Jones, Wm. Roscoe, Athenaeum, Liverpool
 Jordan, Joseph, Manchester

Kay, Samnel, Manchester
 Kennedy, John, Ardwick House, near Manchester
 Kershaw, James, M.P., Manchester

Langton, William, Manchester
 Lees, William, Blendworth House, Horndean, Hants
 Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., F.G.S., High Legh, Cheshire
 Legh, Rev. Peter, M.A., Lodge, Lyme Park, Disley
 Leigh, Egerton, Jun., The West Hall, High Leigh, Knutsford

Leigh, Henry, Patricroft
 Leigh, John, Manchester
 Lingard, John R., Stockport
 Lingard, Rev. R. R., Liverpool
 Love, Benjamin, Manchester
 Lowndes, Edward C., Preston
 Loyd, Edward, Green Hill, Manchester
 Lycett, W. E., Manchester
 Lyon, Edmund, M.D., Manchester
 Lyon, George, Manchester
 Lyon, Thomas, Appleton Hall, Warrington

McClure, William, Peel Cottage, Eccles
 MacKenzie, John Whiteford, Edinburgh
 Macvicar, John, Arddaroch, Gairlochhead
 Manchester, The Bishop of
 Mann, Robert, Manchester
 Mare, E. R. Le, Manchester
 Markland, J. H., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath
 Markland, Thomas, Clifton Park, near Bristol
 Marriott, John, Liverpool
 Marsden, G. E., Manchester
 Marsh, John Fitchett, Warrington
 Marshall, Miss, Ardwick, near Manchester
 Marshall, William, Penwortham Hall, Preston
 Marshall, Frederick Earnshaw, Ditto
 Marshall, John, Ditto
 Mason, Thomas, Copt Hewick, near Ripon
 Massie, Rev. E., M.A., Gawsorth Rectory, near Congleton
 Massie, Rev. W. H., St. Mary's, Chester
 Master, Rev. Robert M., M.A., Burnley
 Maude, Daniel, M.A., Seedley Terrace, Pendleton
 Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A., Lord-street, Liverpool
 Mellor, Thomas, Manchester
 Mewburn, Francis, Darlington
 Monk, John, The Temple, London
 Moore, John, F.L.S., Cornbrook, near Manchester
 Mosley, Sir Oswald, Bart., Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire
 Moss, Rev. John James, Otterspool, Liverpool
 Moulit, William, Parkside, Preston
 Murray, James, Manchester

Naylor, Benjamin Dennison, Altrincham
 Neild, Jonathan, Jun., Rochdale
 Neild, William, Mayfield, Manchester
 Newall, Mrs. Robert, Littleborough, near Rochdale

Newall, W. S., Ackworth House, Pontefract
 Newbery, Henry, Manchester
 Nicholson, James, Thelwall Hall, Warrington
 North, Alfred, Liverpool

Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury Park, Gloucestershire
 Ormerod, George Wareing, M.A., F.G.S., Manchester
 Ormerod, Henry Mere, Manchester
 Owen, John, Manchester

Parker, Robert Townley, M.P., Querden Hall
 Parkinson Major, Eppleton Hall, Fence Houses, Durham

Parkinson, Rev. Richard, D.D., F.S.A., Canon of Manchester and Principal of St. Bees

Patten, J. Wilson, M.P., Bank Hall, Warrington
 Peel, George, Brookfield, Cheadle
 Peel, Joseph, Singleton Brook, near Manchester
 Peet, Thomas, Manchester
 Pegge, John, Newton Heath, near Manchester
 Perris, John, Lyceum, Liverpool
 Peto, Sir Samuel M., Bart., Somerleyton Park, near Lowestoft

Philippi, Frederick Theod., Belfield Hall, near Rochdale
 Phillips, Mark, The Park, Manchester

Phillips, Sir Thomas, Bart., Middle Hill, Worcester-shire

Piccope, Rev. G. J., M.A., Brindle, Chorley
 Pickford, Thomas E., Manchester

Picton, J. A., Clayton Square, Liverpool

Pierpoint, Benjamin, Warrington

Pilkington, George, Manchester

Porrett, Robert, Tower, London

Prescott, J. C., Summerville, near Manchester

Radford, Thomas, M.D., Higher Broughton, near Manchester

Raffles, Rev. Thomas, D.D., LL.D., Liverpool

Raines, Rev. F. R., M.A., F.S.A., Milnrow Parsonage, Rochdale

Reiss, Leopold, Broom House, near Manchester

Renshaw, James, Adelphi, Salford

Rickards, Charles H., Manchester

Roberts, W. J., Liverpool

Robson, John, Warrington

Royds, Albert Hudson, Rochdale

Rushton, The Ven. Archdeacon, D.D., Manchester

Samuels, John, Manchester

Satterfield, Joshua, Manchester

Scholes, Thomas Seddon, Prestwich, Manchester

Sharp, Henry, Bolton

Sharp, John, Lancaster

Sharp, Thomas B., Manchester

Sharp, William, Linden Hall, Lancaster

Sharp, William, Verulam Buildings, Gray's Inn, London

Shaw, George, St. Chad's Upper Mills, Saddleworth

Shuttleworth, Sir J. P. Kay, Bart., Gawthorpe Hall, Burnley

Simms, Charles S., Manchester

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Simms, George, Manchester
 Simpson, J. H., Manchester
 Simpson, Rev. Samuel, M.A., Douglas, Isle of Man
 Skaffe, John, Blackburn
 Skelmersdale, The Lord, Lathom House
 Smith, Rev. J. Finch, Aldridge Rectory, near Walsall
 Smith, Junius, Strangeways Hall, Manchester
 Smith, J. R., Soho Square, London
 Smith, J. S. Fereday, Manchester
 Sowler, R. S., Manchester
 Sowler, Thomas, Manchester
 Spafford, George, Alderley
 Spring, Herbert, Manchester
 Standish, W. S., Duxbury Hall, Chorley
 Stanley, The Lord, Knowsley
 Stanley of Alderley, The Lord
 Stanley, Walmaley, Bootle Village, Liverpool
 Starkie, Legendre Nicholas, Huntroyde, Padiham
 Sudlow, John, Manchester
 Swanwick, Josh. W., Hollins Vale, Bury, Lancashire

Tabley, The Lord de, Cheshire
 Tate, Wm. James, Manchester
 Tatton, Thos., Withenshaw, Cheshire
 Tayler, Rev. John James, B.A., London
 Taylor, James, Todmorden Hall
 Taylor, John, Moreton Hall, Whalley
 Taylor, Thomas Frederick, Wigan
 Teale, Josh., Salford
 Thomson, Joseph, Manchester
 Thorley, George, Manchester
 Tinker, Wm., Hyde, near Manchester
 Tootal, Edward, The Weaste, Pendleton
 Townend, John, Manchester
 Townend, Thomas, Ditto
 Townley, R. Greaves, Fulbourn, near Cambridge

Turnbull, W. B., D.D., Edinburgh
 Turner, Thomas, Manchester

Vaughan, John, Stockport
 Vaughan, Rev. Robert, D.D., President of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester
 Vitré, Edward Denis de, M.D., Lancaster

Walker, John, Weaste, near Manchester
 Walker, Samuel, Prospect Hill, Pendleton
 Wanklyn, J. B., Halecat, near Milnthorpe
 Wanklyn, James H., Manchester
 Warburton, R. E. E., Arley Hall, near Northwich
 Ward, Edmund, Holly House, Prescott
 Ware, Titus Hibbert, Hale Barns, Altrincham
 Westhead, Joshua P. B., Manchester
 Westminster, The Marquis of
 Wheeler, Benjamin, Exchange Arcade, Manchester
 Whitaker, Rev. Robert Nowell, M.A., Vicar of Whalley
 Whitehead, James, M.D., Manchester
 Whitelegg, Rev. William, M.A., Hulme, near Manchester
 Whitmore, Edward, Jun., Manchester
 Wilkinson, Eason Matthew, M.D., Manchester
 Wilson, Rev. John, Grammar School, Manchester
 Wilson, William James, Manchester
 Wilton, The Earl of, Heaton House
 Wood, William R., Singleton Brook, Manchester
 Worthington, Edward, Manchester
 Worthington, Robert, Manchester
 Wray, Rev. Cecil Daniel, M.A., Canon of Manchester
 Wright, Rev. Henry, M.A., Mottram St. Andrew's, near Macclesfield
 Wroe, Frederick, Cheetham Hill, near Manchester

Yates, Joseph B., West Dingle, Liverpool
 Young, Sir Chas. G., Garter, &c., &c., London

The Honorary Secretary requests that any change of address may be communicated to him or to the Treasurer.

171, n. 1 - 21 - 123 +

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